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ADVANTAGES OF NILE VALLEY INTEGRATION DISCUSSED

Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 19 Aug 81 p 7

[Article by Husayn Abu Zayd al-Muhami: "Integration of Nile Valley to Aid Development and Counter Aggression"]

[Text] The eternal linking of the two halves of the Nile Valley is an endeavor that Providence has ordained as a means of achieving unity of goals and destiny, having previously prepared the historical ties necessary for this project including the eternal Nile itself as well as language, religion, customs, and traditions. All of these are part of a heritage which, through the course of history, has formed the Nile Valley civilization. This civilization is one of the strongest and oldest civilizations, and continues to have a direct influence on contemporary life throughout the entire modern world.

However, praising the glory of the Nile Valley will not benefit the real world at all. Until this praise is transformed into action that will enrich the efforts of the two halves, strengthen their cohesiveness, and intensify their powers to confront the challenges of the era, the feats of history will have no meaning. The forces of interdependence will remain ripe for integration with the passage of time because of the failure to channel these forces in the direction of organic integration to achieve joint goals in various fields of human development. This fact was understood by British colonialism, which used all its weight to block the earnest efforts made by loyal inhabitants of the Nile Valley to originate a formula for cooperation between the two parts of the valley in order to restore the power and glory of the valley and enrich the life of its two parts. Nor did the strategems of colonialism stop at fighting the call to achieve this goal. The colonialists also went so far as to apply the policy known as "divide and rule." Colonialism worked continuously to upset the harmonious relations between the people of the Nile Valley with the aim of replacing fraternity with enmity. However, all these attempts failed because the foundations of the ties between the two peoples of the Nile Valley were stronger than the attempts made by the colonialists and those in their orbit. Nonetheless, strife between those who advocated the preservation of the eternal ties and the enemies of this cause remained inevitable until the 23 July Revolution erupted. From the beginning, the revolution placed prime importance on these ties and created the formula of integration between the people of the two parts of the valley. This concept was the subject of deeprooted disagreement which the colonialists used to destroy any attempt at rapprochement. After the revolution broke out in the northern part of the valley, the 25 May Revolution erupted. The central goal of the two revolutions revolves around extricating the

inhabitant of the Nile Valley in the north and the south from backwardness and preparing him to exercise his responsibility to contribute actively toward the revival of his nation. The unity of the two revolutions and the sincere intentions of their leaders paved the way toward the achievement of the plans of cooperation in a spirit of responsibility and commitment and within the framework of the shared bonds which are deeply rooted in history.

Presidents Ja'far Numayri and Anwar Sadat laid the foundations for the transformation of theory into fact and then into effective and vital practice extending to all levels and dimensions. Practice alone is the standard of fact. The most important manifestation of practice in the realm of fact is the uniting of forces to confront any aggression to which either one of the two parts is exposed. This action is based on the belief that an attack on one of the two parts of the valley is an attack on the other part. This is the sole objective of the noble intentions to defend both parts of the Nile Valley from harm and aggression. It is therefore inconceivable that anyone would wish to attack one of these parts in an attempt to undertake an action with uncalculated consequences.

We are confronted with a world struggle in which each of the two superpowers is competing with all its various means to expand its sphere of influence at the expense of the weak states or those states that do not rely on individual power to enable them to repel attempts to gain supremacy or extend influence by direct or indirect means. This is what the Soviet Union is doing by exploiting Libya's colonel, who has transformed the oil revenues of the Libyan people into an arsenal of weapons with which to threaten the security of neighboring African and Arab states.

If Colonel Qadhdhafi knows his relative strength in relation to any actions that his ambitions have led him to consider with regard to either Egypt or Sudan alone, the cohesiveness of the forces of the two states of the Nile Valley against any aggression will repel the communist menace. Therefore, he had better think carefully before carrying out any reckless step which may lead to a fate he does not envision.

8591

CSO: 4504/105

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

SUDANESE-EGYPTIAN BANK--Mr 'Izzat Ghaydan, president of the Federation of Egyptian Chambers of Commerce and head of the Egyptian side in the Joint Sudanese-Egyptian Economic Council, stated that a decision has been made to establish a joint banking venture between Sudan and Egypt to be called the Nile Bank for Commerce and Investment. The purpose of the project is to participate in financing joint projects in the two countries. These projects include the establishment of a joint company for food security and the strengthening of the economic development plan in Sudan and Egypt. The head of the Egyptian side stated that the agreement calls for a bank capital of \$20 million with 50 percent of the capital to be paid in advance upon the establishment of the bank. The payment will be divided equally between the Sudanese and Egyptian sides. [Text] [Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 25 Aug 81 p 1] 8591

EGYPT, SUDAN OPEN BORDERS--Ambassador 'Abd-al-'Aziz Khayrat, director of the Sudan Department of the Egyptian Foreign Ministry, stated that he will soon make an announcement in both Khartoum and Cairo declaring complete freedom of movement of individuals between Sudan and Egypt with possession of personal identification. This move is considered a necessary step toward the achievement of integration and comes within the framework of the strategy aimed at the elimination of all restrictions to the movement of individuals and capital between the two countries. The director of the Sudan Department added that there will also be an announcement shortly concerning the establishment of a joint Sudanese-Egyptian bank to undertake the financing of joint projects between the two countries. The initial stages of these projects will cost 1 billion pounds. The Egyptian ambassador said that two of the main integration projects to be implemented during the initial stages are the reconstruction of the integration region between the two countries, which includes Northern Province in Sudan and the governorate of Aswan in Egypt, and the coordination of integration of people in the Red Sea region. [Text] [Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 24 Aug 81 p 1] 8591

CSO: 4504/105

ALGERIA

ALGIERS DEVELOPMENT PLANS OUTLINED

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 24 Sep 81. pp 1, 3

[Text] Mr Baualem Benhamouda, member, Political Bureau, and minister of the interior, yesterday in his ministry presided over an important working session attended by the wali of Algiers, all of the daïra chiefs of the wilaya of Algiers, as well as the chairman of the people's council of the city of Algiers.

The purpose of this meeting was to review and speed up the implementation of operations initiated by the Interior Ministry and planned for the wilaya of Algiers in the context of local development and the improvement of living conditions for the citizens of the capital.

Among the points brought up, the minister at length emphasized the job that remains to be done in order to guarantee the harmonious development of Algiers and its region and to remove the difficulties encountered by the citizens in their everyday life.

The local communities and the enterprises concerned, in this context, must combine their efforts to make up for the delays which have accumulated so far in school construction, water supply facilities, highways, electrification, transportation, and especially housing.

Looking specifically at housing, the interior minister emphasized that the effective implementation of the programs listed would inevitably help solve the problems encountered by a large number of citizens in this field.

In the matter of real estate reserves he recalled the instructions given by his ministry to the communities to select and make available a minimum of 200 lots per year to the citizens and enterprises; in talking to the daïra chiefs, the minister emphasized that this objective must be attained. Under the provisions of the law--he added--it is necessary to prevent red tape which hinders the citizens in gaining access to housing.

Cession of Government Property--Speeding Up Operations

After the census conducted by the communities with respect to slums and poor housing facilities, it is furthermore necessary now to move on to a rational undertaking of removing those dwelling facilities whose existence considerably hinders the

development of our towns and leaves a segment of our citizens in a troubled situation.

Regarding the cession of government property, the minister urged the daira chiefs to speed up even more the census and evaluation operations currently in progress with a view as soon as possible to move on to the final sales phase.

In the matter of distribution, emphasis was placed on projects in progress concerning the registration, study, and implementation phases provided for in the 81 development plans.

We know as a matter of fact that the construction of 32 public community markets, very soon, has been planned in the capital.

An appeal will be made for the supply of steel frames to speed up the construction of these markets.

New Corps of Hygiene and Urban Development Inspectors

The meeting also covered the matter of hygiene and highways.

In the field of hygiene, we know that the Ministry of Interior recently recruited and trained a corps of hygiene and urban development inspectors, charged with watching over the implementation of regulations in this area out in the field.

This corps of inspectors, which became operational a few weeks ago, must play its role in order to put an end to the dumping often observed on public roads and also in the matter of urban growth.

Regarding roads, the minister also emphasized the necessary coordination between the services in order to put an end to the growing deterioration of public roads.

The sidewalk and street repair program and the urban lighting program must also be speeded up. During this working session, emphasis was also placed on the matter of beach restoration, green areas, and playgrounds.

In his guidelines, the minister emphasized that the program now launched must be boosted to permit the largest number of families possible to get the benefit of recreation areas.

Finally, the bus shelter program started last quarter must also be continued more quickly particularly as winter approaches; one out of every two bus shelters must at least be equipped with a phone booth.

The Executive Out in the Field

Regarding the working method, instructions were furthermore given so that, periodically and on the level of the other willayate, all of the directors of the executive branch go out to the dairas in order to study and solve the problems encountered by the communities.

The wali was also asked to convene the दौरा chiefs at least quarterly and the latter were asked in turn to convene the chairmen of the APC [People's Communal Assembly] to guarantee better coordination and more efficiency in the actions undertaken.

Evaluation and Encouragement

The central authority also periodically demands the evaluation of actions taken in the willayat; the wali was also asked to evaluate the action of the dairas while it is up to the chiefs of the dairas to gauge the efforts of the APC [People's Communal Assembly] and their executives.

This evaluation, the minister added, will have the effect of encouraging the worthy individuals and, in coordination with the chain of command the party, to remove all those who, by virtue of inefficiency and incompetence, neglect the interest of the citizen and the mission assigned to them and from whom confidence must therefore be withdrawn.

In closing his remarks, the minister said: "We have the funds, we have the material and the manpower and with an extra effort and good coordination, a good number of problems encountered by the citizens will be solved."

5058

CSO:4519/8

REGIONAL BENEFITS OF CAUSEWAY OUTLINED

Jiddah AL-MADINAH in Arabic 13 Aug 81 p 19

[Article by Musa'id Ibn Sa'adun Abu Ghazi: "Bahrain's Minister of Development and Industry Yusuf al-Shirawi Says: 'Bahrain Causeway Will Provide Food Security for the Area'"]

[Text] Yusuf Ahmad al-Shirawi, Bahrain's minister of development and industry, delivered an address to the Associations of Bahraini Students Studying Abroad organized by the associations' Higher Committee for Summer Activities. In his address, the minister described the causeway as a vital project that will play a decisive role in accelerating and intensifying development, will bring prosperity to the people of Bahrain, and will help facilitate rapid movement among the area states. The project to which the minister was referring is the planned causeway linking Saudi Arabia and Bahrain. This project has been long awaited by the people of Bahrain because it will help achieve a greater level of cohesion and intermingling between Bahrain and Saudi Arabia.

Yusuf al-Shirawi's address was attended by a large number of students as well as numerous citizens, including Shaykh 'Isa ibn Muhammad al-Khalifah, secretary general of the Higher Council for Youth and Athletics. Mr al-Shirawi began his talk as follows:

"Before we discuss the role of the causeway, we should review the subject of economic development. What are the goals and objectives we are striving to achieve and what are the means we are employing to achieve these goals?

"In answering this question, we would like from the start to avoid getting pushed into a philosophical debate about such things as man, his values, his development, and the honing of his talents. Rather, I look at matters from a practical and simplified standpoint. I would like to tell you what has been going on in our minds from 1966 until the present with regard to development-related fields.

"From that time until the present we have had four basic goals:

"First, the creation of job opportunities for the citizens of Bahrain.

"Second, the diversification of sources of income and the diversification of economic activity in light of the fact that the petroleum we depend on chiefly is a dwindling resource. For this reason, we are getting ready for the post-petroleum age and the diversification of our sources of income.

"Thirdly, raising the material standard of the individual by attempting to reverse the employment situation that prevailed in years past. In the past, the lower and middle classes gave up the leadership and supervisory positions and allowed foreigners to take them over.

"Fourthly, the creation of a source of income in order to meet their obligations. These are the goals that the state has authorized and they remain in effect today.

"The means we have employed to achieve these goals are represented by several steps:

"First, we have done much thinking on industrial growth because of the fact that industry places many demands and requires an abundance of new materials, energy, manpower, and markets, among other things. While we live in a region that provides a cheap source of energy, we do not possess any other resource. But despite the numerous factors that stand in the way of what we are trying to achieve--such as the climate, consumption, the size of the population, raw materials, and our distance from the market--in spite of all these things we have sought to develop industry by selecting a number of industries that have a competitive capability in the world market. We started with the aluminum industry and then moved on to the dry dock, iron pellets, and other industries. We have also endeavored to set up industrial areas in order to establish light industries.

"One thing we have achieved in the area of industry is an increase in the technical standard. Prior to 1964, every job in the industrial sector opened up four other jobs. Now, every job at a high level or with a high degree of specialization opens up ten jobs.

"As for the oil industry, we have established the foundations for this sector through our ownership of the oil field and our participation in the refining operation. Moreover, the petrochemicals industry along with the recently approved project for the conversion of heavy oil into light oil and other projects will open up extensive work opportunities and will provide a large economic return for the state."

Mr al-Shirawi also spoke about Bahrain's experience in the marine and shipping services industry, the transportation industry, well drilling and maintenance, and oil production in marine areas. These fields have been the focus of much attention on the part of this state and have thus opened up major economic horizons. He asserted that the government has encouraged the establishment of equipment maintenance centers in Bahrain as well as centers for transport, communications, ship services, and banking services.

He continued: "After Bahrain has become a world financial center, the government will seek to make the country a center of the same standard for world credit companies. It will also focus considerable attention on the tourist services industry, especially since the prevailing trend among officials in the area states is to focus primarily on domestic tourism for natives of the region."

He also discussed the state's efforts to upgrade the job qualifications of the citizens and create high-level managerial and professional positions for them. Mr al-Shirawi explained the policies that the government has followed over 15 years to achieve the developmental goals without the existence of a causeway. He stated that the causeway has remained a main development goal in the thinking of officials in Bahrain during the past 20 years.

This point led to the subject of the causeway's role in industrial development. Next Mr al-Shirawi began a discussion of this particular point:

"There are some concepts and goals that envision the interlinking of the Gulf states and the Arabian Peninsula with a transportation and communications network, especially in the area of economic integration which we are endeavoring to achieve. We believe that the achievement of these aspirations in a suitable manner depends on the existence of air, marine, and overland communications and transportation facilities. Without the causeway, a major cornerstone of this integrated network in the field of transportation and communications will be missing. Therefore, the establishment of the causeway will provide Bahrain equal opportunities with the remaining area states in this field.

Concerning the benefits that Bahrain will realize after the construction of this causeway, the minister of development and industry mentioned the following points:

Since 1967, Bahrain has been studying many joint industrial projects. Some 200 industrial projects have been investigated, and the majority of these projects have not been implemented because of the size of the market. However, the causeway that will connect Bahrain with a large area will facilitate the establishment of many joint economic, industrial, and commercial projects."

He said that some 60 percent of the high cost of fruits and vegetables is due to the multiplicity and variety of means of transport. He said that the causeway would help to reduce the cost of food projects substantially.

He continued: "In about 15 years, the area of Jubayl in Saudi Arabia will become one of the world's largest industrial areas. We believe that no matter how much Saudi Arabia works to meet the requirements of this industrial area, there will still be extensive opportunities for natives of Bahrain to make up any shortfalls in services that this area may encounter. Moreover, there will be ample opportunities to establish many supporting light industries in Bahrain which will be determined by the needs of the industrial area of Jubayl in Saudi Arabia. There will also be ample employment opportunities for Bahrain citizens.

The linking of Bahrain with the Arabian Peninsula will provide a degree of food security not only for Bahrain but for the entire area. In the last decade, the world suffered from a shortage of energy, and we believe that in the coming decade we will witness a similar shortage not only of energy but of food, as well.

Because the area states are thinking about the provision of food security, they are presently moving toward the construction of centers for the storage of commodities and foodstuffs. This trend has developed because of our conviction that others could use food as a weapon against us by cutting off or threatening to cut off food supplies.

Therefore, the causeway will be an extremely important link in the communications and transportation network. Through its existence we can build food storage centers that will allow us to distribute food at need. Alternatively, food can be stored in a neighboring country and transported to us. In either case, the existence of the causeway will have very great importance."

The causeway will also, in al-Shirawi's words, "play an important role in what is called import volume. It will be possible to reach agreement with neighboring states to combine orders for food products, and by increasing the volume this will help reduce the overall cost, resulting in a decline in the prices of these products and foodstuffs from current levels."

Continuing with his address, the minister of development said: "The states of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] will begin working to increase the links and inter-connections among the citizens of the area and will endeavor to stimulate the level of domestic tourism. The causeway will play an active role in stimulating this activity, which will have a positive impact on the economic and social structure."

Concerning the role of the causeway in education, Yusuf al-Shirawi said: "No matter how much we attempt to expand the establishment of universities or centers of higher education, the area generally cannot fulfill all the requirements in this field. However, the causeway that will link us with our sister state of Saudi Arabia along with all the other Gulf states will link the universities and educational centers with one another in the way we are striving for through integration, cooperation, and coordination. This also applies to medical institutions. The causeway will expand the exchange of services in these two fields."

The Bahraini development and industry minister asserted: "The strong and stable relations that exist between Bahrain and Saudi Arabia will last forever. It is sufficient to say that some 800,000 individuals travel between the two countries each year and that 30 percent of Bahrain's exports go to the kingdom. The causeway will strengthen these relations even further and will give economic activity great impetus and capacity in terms of both quantity and quality."

Commenting on the position of Bahrain's commercial sector following the construction of the causeway, the minister said: "I believe that the businessmen of Bahrain must adapt to the new situation in the future. Some individuals believe that the flow of imports will be from Bahrain to Saudi Arabia, but I feel that the opposite will be true because of the size of the market in Saudi Arabia. For this reason, many products will come into Bahrain via Saudi Arabia."

"This prospect does not frighten me. I believe that the businessmen of Bahrain have the capability to adapt to the new situation. The important factor in my view is the ordinary consumer. The consumer will be in a position to obtain products at a lower price, and I believe that there are many merchants who will reach agreement with their counterparts in the kingdom with respect to prices. This is exactly what occurred in the European Common Market where prices and industries began to adjust according to the market activity of the various EEC states. We will soon venture on the establishment of such a market in this area, God willing, and this step will be backed by the GCC."

Enumerating the distinguishing features of the causeway, Yusuf Ahmad al-Shirawi said: "It will link two population areas with high levels of economic momentum. The importance of this fact will increase when it becomes possible through the existence of the causeway for an individual to travel from the heart of one industrial area to the heart of another industrial area within a quarter of an hour."

"This causeway will provide a particular challenge to the younger generation by opening up extensive employment opportunities and tremendous opportunities for economic activities in Bahrain and in Saudi Arabia--or more comprehensively, in all the states of the GCC. Therefore, we must prepare our hearts and minds to take part in and benefit from these tremendous undertakings."

In reply to some questions asked by a number of individuals at the gathering, the minister said: "The commercial sector will not be affected adversely by the construction of the causeway. The Bahraini merchant has altered his way of dealing with consumers, and no businessman will be hurt when he has learned how to adapt himself to the new situation after the causeway is built. In fact, the businessman will be in a position to benefit even more than at present from the greater opportunities that will exist following the causeway's construction."

Concerning the extent of the causeway's impact on the marine environment, the minister remarked: "A study has been conducted on the movements of water and fish, the movement of salinity, and the effect of water and air currents on the marine environment. This study cost 15 million Saudi riyals. There are guarantees that the marine environment will not be damaged in any way."

When asked if the existence of the causeway would give rise to any social evils, the Bahraini minister said that it would not and added: "The people of Bahrain and Saudi Arabia share the same customs, precepts, and values. I do not believe that we will be exposed to the kind of serious social evils that arise when a narrow society is opened up to a broad society. Moreover, Bahrain has its own laws and regulations. Nor am I concerned about the effect of individuals who come to the country temporarily, particularly imported foreign labor. If a change does occur, it will take place gradually and at a rate that the society can accept. The common fear in any society is of a sudden change, and I do not believe that the causeway will lead to such a change in the coming years."

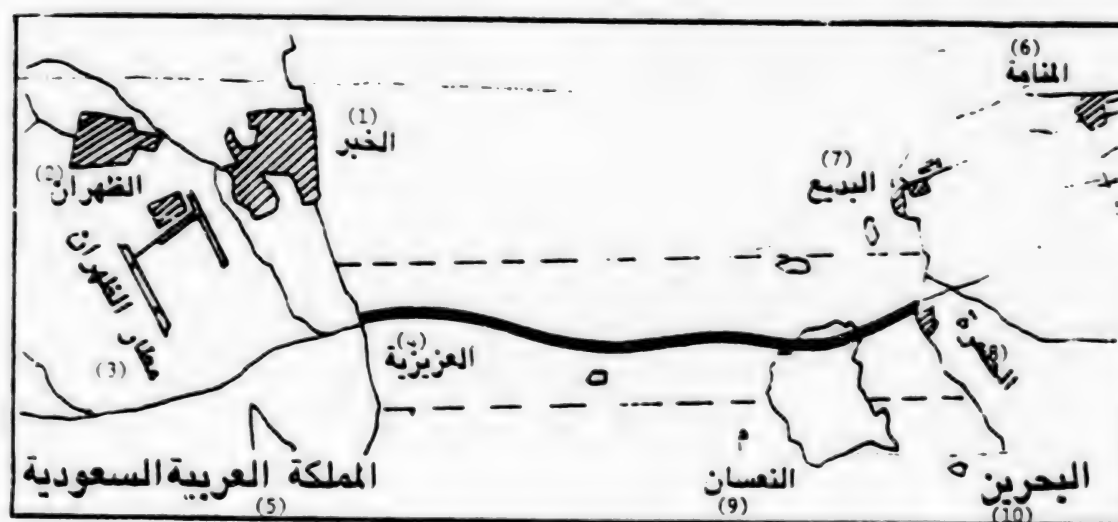
The minister was asked if the citizens in Bahrain would be able to buy products subsidized by the Saudi Arabian government. He replied: "There has been some consideration among officials of the area states--especially since the formation of the GCC--of the idea of gradually standardizing rates for transportation, services, and fuel consumption so that there will not be an imbalance because of the movement of individuals from one area to another. The economic agreement discussed by the finance and national economy ministers of the area states covered these issues."

Asked whether or not the causeway would affect shipping activity, the minister replied: "I believe that after the establishment of the causeway, a Gulf shipping company will be formed. The causeway will not eliminate our need for ocean shipping, as some believe. Now will ocean transport eliminate the need for the causeway, nor will the two of them eliminate the need for air transport."

Responding to a question concerning the imposition of tolls for crossing the causeway, he said: "Tolls will be charged but they will not be high. The toll revenues will be allocated for maintenance and repair of the causeway. In the event that toll revenues do not cover these costs, an agreement will be reached whereby the Bahraini and Saudi governments will provide the necessary funds to make up the deficit."

"There will not be any effects on the ownership of real estate and commercial enterprises after the construction of the causeway because these matters are controlled by local laws. However, I believe that this impact will be controlled by the economic agreement prepared by the ministers of finance and national economy of the area states. Hopefully, the final form of this agreement can be approved by the GCC in its meeting in November, because this agreement will permit freedom of movement of Gulf capital and the unification of customs fees as well as other economic incentives."

In the course of his replies, the minister remarked: "With regard to the question of internal security and Gulf security in general, security will be the same with the existence of the causeway as it is now without the existence of the causeway."



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| Key: | 1. al-Khubar | 6. al-Manamah |
| | 2. Dhahran | 7. Badi'ah |
| | 3. Dhahran Airport | 8. Hasarah |
| | 4. al-'Aziziyah | 9. Na'san |
| | 5. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia | 10. Bahrain |

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CSC: 4304/160

DETAILS OF NEW MINISTRY OF ISLAMIC COOPERATIVES ANNOUNCED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 8 Oct 81 p 15

[Text] Mohammad Mirmohammad-Sadeqi, the minister of labor and social affairs, explained in a press conference the manner of the activities of various cooperatives and also the necessity of creating the Ministry of Islamic Cooperatives. He said: With the establishment of the Ministry of Islamic Cooperatives, Articles 42, 43, and 44 of the Constitution will be implemented.

He added: One of our present problems is a deficiency in the distribution system, which will not be eliminated unless the form of this system is changed to one of cooperatives.

He added: Presently, 70-80 percent of the inflation in our society is artificial, caused by goods changing hands 7 or 8 times in the distribution stage and reaching the consumer at 3 times their price. Because of the inefficient system, a light bulb which the factory sells for 38 rials reaches the consumer in the marketplace at 150-200 rials.

He said: Most existing cooperatives are basically consumer types. The role that the regime of the Islamic Republic envisions for cooperatives has not yet materialized.

The text of the legislative bill concerning the establishment of the Ministry of Islamic Cooperatives is as follows:

Article 1. In order to implement Paragraph 2 of Articles 43 and 44 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic and to centralize and coordinate the cooperative affairs of the country, the Ministry of Islamic Cooperatives shall be established to assume the duties explained below:

A. To devise policies, directives, and plans to form and expand cooperative units within the framework of national economic policies.

B. To collect and organize statistics and data and to evaluate plans regarding technical and economic considerations.

C. To undertake the necessary studies for the nationwide expansion of cooperatives.

D. To provide the necessary facilities for the expansion and reconstruction of cooperatives.

E. To devise and implement educational and research programs in areas involving the use of all resources in coordination with ministries and other related organizations.

F. To mobilize and prepare national cooperatives.

G. To cooperate with national and international scientific and technical institutions and join and participate in international organizations and assemblies with considerations for the related laws and regulations.

H. To prepare and devise laws and regulations concerning the management of industries and the production units which are closed down or semi-operational through cooperatives and to establish new cooperatives in the areas of industry and commerce in order to bring production and distribution into the cooperative system and put an end to the middleman.

To protect the cooperatives against government and private sectors and direct the national economy towards a cooperative system.

Article 2. All duties, authorization, and responsibilities of existing cooperative organizations within the country, their employees, credits, properties, and commitments shall be conferred on and transferred to the Ministry of Islamic Cooperatives. The transfers must take place within a maximum period of six months.

Note 1. The Ministry of Islamic Cooperatives shall be responsible for preparing equitable financial and employment charters and regulations for the employees of the cooperatives within a maximum period of six months after the ratification of this law and for implementing them after their approval by the Cabinet ministers in cases where legal permission is required and upon ratification by the Islamic Consultative Assembly. Before the ratification of these regulations, the existing regulations of each cooperative may be implemented.

Note 2. The minister of Islamic cooperatives shall be a member of the Economic Council, the Supreme Council of Banks, the Supreme Council of Statistics, nationalized industries, and the organization of small handicraft industries.

Note 3. The Supreme Council of Cooperatives shall consist of a group of ministers from the Ministries of Agriculture, Commerce, Labor and Social Affairs, Economic Affairs and Finance, and Islamic Cooperatives, the deputy and the director of the Organization of Planning and Budget, and the director general of the Central Bank, which will make decisions when necessary. The organization, policies, and duties of the Supreme Council of Cooperatives will follow the charters approved by the Cabinet ministers.

Note 4. Funds for the Ministry of Islamic Cooperatives, in the beginning of its activities, will be provided for from the funds for cooperative activities in other organizations and ministries through the Organization of Planning and Budget.

Note 5. The centers for the expansion of production and reconstruction services will come under the auspices of the Ministry of Cooperatives. This Ministry is responsible for changing the law and related charters to reform those centers as cooperatives.

Note 6. The government shall be responsible for arranging that nationalized industries be managed in the form of cooperatives if this does not conflict with Article 44 of the Constitution.

Article 3. The Ministry of Islamic Cooperatives may select its human resources from the existing cooperative sectors of other ministries.

Note [7]. With the declaration by the Ministry of Islamic Cooperatives of its readiness to accept the duties of the cooperative units of other ministries, those ministries shall be responsible for shutting down their activities in the area of Islamic cooperatives. No cooperative outside the auspices of the Ministry of Islamic Cooperatives may continue its activities unless so approved by the Supreme Council of Cooperatives. The individual duties of national authorities regarding cooperatives shall be conferred upon the minister of cooperatives and all the duties of the authorities upon the Supreme Council of Cooperatives.

This law has been ratified by the Islamic Consultative Assembly in three Articles and seven Notes.

9593

CSO: 4640/34

IRAN

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC IMPASSE FORESEEN IN TEHRAN

Persistence of Regime

Zuerich DIE WELTWOCHE in German No 40,30 Sep 81 p 3

[Report by Ulrich Tilgner]

[Text] The victor in next Friday's Iranian presidential election has already been determined: Hojjat ol-islam 'Ali Khamene'i, former secretary general of the Islamic-Republican Party. Not even the opposition's planned acts of sabotage can change this: they lack cohesion and their ranks have been decimated by cruel executions. But the regime must not count on calm in the near future: on the contrary, severe economic problems create new adversaries.

Tehran--"God is great; this is the month of blood; Khomeyni will fall! Moslems arise; the Mojahedin are being murdered." When several dozen predominantly youthful Mojahedin followers called for Khomeyni's overthrow last Sunday on Tehran's Boulevard of the Revolution, they remained isolated. The mass of passers-by dissolved quickly; most sought refuge in the shops of the main thoroughfare or fled into side streets because the demonstrators were armed and shots in nearby streets were an indication of a forthcoming fight with the revolutionary guards.

Attempts at demonstration during the past few weeks have shown that the revolutionary guards appear no later than 10 minutes after the start of such actions and put a violent end to such rallies by the radical opposition. This is followed by an exchange of fire resulting in injuries and deaths. Last Sunday the Mojahedin militia and the security forces engaged in a two-hour battle. As was to be expected, the opposition had to give in to the superior numbers of the revolutionary forces.

But this is by no means an indication that calm will be restored in the near future inside the only 2 and 1/2 year old republic; the basic problems of the revolution remain unresolved. Apart from the war whose outcome cannot be foreseen even despite recent successes, the country is still faced with an unprecedented economic and financial crisis. Additionally, the wave of executions and terrorism is likely to escalate further.

State Minister Behzad Nabavi openly admitted the worrisome economic situation for the first time last weekend. The Western industrial nations' economic boycott which followed the occupation of the U.S. embassy and the reduction in oil exports were said to have led to a drastic reduction in foreign currency reserves. At present, the latter probably amount to no more than \$3 billion, which prompted the government to decree drastic restrictions in imports which had again been rising continuously for several months. And since food imports are still occupying the highest priority, the restrictions are probably directed at raw materials and partially finished products, thus further weakening the country's economy.

At the current 23 percent rate of inflation the Iranian economy is hardly in a position to compete with imported products. Domestic automobile tires for example are nearly 50 percent more expensive than imported ones. And the lack of financing of the current state budget, which until now is financed at approximately 50 percent, will quadruple during the coming winter months due to inflation, according to calculations by foreign economic experts.

Despite all their protestations to the contrary, the government and the parliament do not appear to be in a position to implement the reform programs announced during the days of the revolution. Agrarian reform has been stopped, and even in the future the land holdings of big agrarian owners will be interfered with only in very exceptional cases. The power of influential Iranian major land holders has not been broken to date. This will result in further loss of popularity for the country's government inasmuch as it had always been considered to be a government of the poor and since its most militant adherents came from the suburban slums.

Even if there is a future increase in social problems due to the economic and financial crisis, the past weeks' unrest is still unequivocally based on a political background. The opposition's voice was stifled. Though enormous propaganda efforts have attempted to project the image of a unified nation, the Iranian people is divided. The opposition's right to exist is being officially denied. But the 36 million man security service continuously referred to by all politicians (every Iranian must also function as an agent and defend his government) is now working. In reality, the opposition is being persecuted by a minority and is being excluded from official life. And since radical opponents of the government persist in pursuing their political goals, drastic measures are taken and their physical elimination is being sought.

If one could assume a deterrent effect of capital punishment during the first weeks following Bani-Sadr's firing and the start of the wave of executions, it has not been amply demonstrated that on the contrary the death sentences specifically led to further radicalization of the disputes. And it is especially the opposition's readiness for self sacrifice and combat which attracts followers among the country's youth. A broad spectrum of the population can be attracted by an ideology based on Islam, nationalism and socialism.

Executions are apparently intended not only as a deterrent, but also to weaken [the opposition] and to reduce its numbers. There can be no other explanation of the more than 1,500 death sentences to date against opponents of the government. Executions follow secret trials in which the defendants had been found guilty without benefit of defense counsel.

During such tumultuous times even propagandistically amplified news of victories at the Iranian-Iraqi front cannot serve to reestablish equilibrium. Even the successful battle of 27 September, the greatest victory over the Iraqis to date according to Radio Tehran, and the breaking of the siege of the refinery town of Abadan offer only a temporary distraction from the internal struggles. Many Iranians, be they pro-government or opposed to it, have until now practiced restraint in these controversies only because of the war.

Next Friday's elections will offer an insight as to the support which the country's leadership still enjoys and whether the opposition is still able to disturb the election process to a significant degree. If there are any unresolved question about the election process, this is not the case as to the victor: Ayatollah Khamene'i will become the third president of the Islamic Republic. The 42-year old, who never spends two successive nights in the same place because of threatened assassination attempts, is the leading candidate and the only candidate. His "competitors" never fail to affirm their intention of voting for him themselves. Only Prime Minister Kani has remained quiet; he may possibly withdraw his candidacy a few hours prior to the election.

Only time will tell whether this will result in real harmony between Kani and Khamene'i. Because in the long run the pressure of the opposition cannot be countered solely with repressive measures; this pressure will have to be dealt with politically. It is open to question whether Khamene'i is ready for this. Doubtless he is the more hard-line and immovable one of the two. He was after all the only member of the revolutionary council during February 1979, in the days of the revolution, to have decisively argued against Bazargan's nomination for prime minister and to have voted against him.

Most importantly, it remains to be seen whether the new man's state of health will permit him to bring all his energies to bear. He is still suffering from the after effects of a bomb blast of 27 June. There is even a chance that his right arm will have to be amputated.

Disunity of Opposition

Zuerich DIE WELTWOCHEN in German No 40,30 Sep 81 p 3

[Text] The strongest organization of the outlawed and persecuted opposition is Masud Rajavi's guerilla formation of the Mojahedin-i-Khalq. Ideologically it is based upon the "Towheed" concept, which provides for a unified Islamic community. According to Rajavi (who fled to Paris with Bani-Sadr), the Mojahedin-i-Khalq's ideology provides a certain role for a private economy despite its socialist dogma. In Tehran, the Mojahedin-i-Khalq is said to have succeeded in winning the sympathies of a large number of the influential bazaar merchants and manufacturers. Some members of the high clergy are also said to be close to the Mojahedin-i-Khalq. However, since Bani-Sadr's defection at least 900 members of the group have been executed--at this moment it is impossible to tell how many are still active.

But in Khuzistan the Khomeyni regime is being challenged not by the Mojahedin-i-Khalq, but rather by the so-called minority Fedayeen. The minority Fedayeen

are receiving weapons, financial, manpower and propaganda support primarily from Marxist South Yemen.

The Peykhar organization, which split from the Mojahedin during the revolutionary disorders, is of a Marxist-Leninist orientation.

Tudeh, Iran's communist party, is small in terms of membership, but is being tolerated by Khomeyni unlike other opposition groups. The reason is that Tudeh, probably upon instigation from Moscow, lends considerable support to the Ayatollah's politics.

Challenges to the Khomeyni regime come from various regions by ethnic groups such as Kurds, Iranian Arabs, Azerbaijanis, Beluchis. Their resistance to the Ayatollah is their reaction to the denial of autonomy for their respective regions.

9273

CSO: 4620/3

IRAN

KURDS ACCUSE TUDEH OF TERRORIST CAMPAIGN

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1298, 18 Sep 81 p 33

[Article: "Khomeyni Charts the Government's Course through His Son, Ahmad; Kurds Accuse Tudeh Party of Explosion, Assassination Operations in Iran"]

[Text] The days in Iran are proving that stepping up opposition operations will not bring about the downfall of the existing regime and that stepping up executions will not make the opposition surrender.

Khomeyni received a delegation from the Iranian Advisory Council in the middle of last week. He warned the delegation that the next explosion would take place in the council itself. He affirmed that "Those who are guarding the place are themselves the ones who are causing the catastrophe." That meeting took place on the 9th day of this month, that is, 3 days before Khomeyni went into seclusion in his home for a period of 2 weeks during which he was not receiving anyone. Seclusion requires solitude. But at this decisive meeting Khomeyni did appeal to the clergy to become more deeply involved in politics. Then he added that he would "use a sword to cut off the heads of all the opposition, especially the heads of Mojahedin-e Khalq." [Members of that party] did not wait long to express their reaction. The program had been set.

At 5 pm that Wednesday, seven demonstrations organized by Mojahedin-e Khalq were launched in Tehran. It was during those demonstrations that the Majahidine distributed the first statement of the National Defense Council which is chaired by Abol Hasan Bani-Sadr and Mas'ud Rajavi. The timing was provocative. At 5 pm people begin heading home; the streets of Tehran fill with cars; and the merchants of the bazaar begin closing their shops. To heighten the challenge, none of the demonstrators wore a mask, and they began to repeat two specific slogans: "the bloody month," and "Khomeyni will fall in the bloody month."

Thus some people explained the expression, the bloody month and the isolation which Khomeyni had chosen by the fact that Mojahedin-e Khalq had realized that "'Ali's day," which al-Qadusi had called for--al-Qadusi was killed on the 5th of this month--after the death of Raja'i and Bahonar, would soon materialize and that the imam had given the order signal for it.

The first reaction to the need for a deeper political involvement by the clergy came from one of the Iranians who in his own words are "awaiting their hour." The Iranian said, "The mullahs are present, and the stench of bribes in state offices where bureaucracy has gained control is filling the air. The only thing which the clergy do to affirm their 'involvement' in politics is to accuse all those who oppose them of corrupting the earth. The penalty for this accusation is death."

But what about security?

At the first meeting held by the Advisory Council with the participation of the members of the new government Rafsanjani said that the council discussed significant security resolutions and approved them. Among those [security matters] were the fact that the Supreme Defense Council would concern itself with general questions but that the executive questions would fall under the jurisdiction of those who are concerned with military affairs. It is known that the Supreme Defense Council is made up of senior Iranian army officers. Thus those who were previously responsible for military security and intelligence were isolated. Rafsanjani did not announce who would take over these matters or how people's lives would be protected. But a few days later a committee of senior clergymen, which included Ayatollah Montazeri, asked the government to expedite the formation of a strong intelligence agency. Montazeri affirmed that he wanted the regime to establish a new ministry called the Ministry of Security and Intelligence.

A few Iranians wondered, "How can officials ask for a ministry of intelligence when they've announced that the government had the support of 35 million Iranians? This request affirms the failure of Khomeyni's appeal in which he had ordered every Iranian to watch his brother or his neighbor."

As a response to the formation of a strong intelligence agency the opposition Voice of Iran Radio announced that the regime had begun using the Revolutionary Guard in forming an intelligence agency. There are members of the Iranian communist Tudeh party in the Revolutionary Guard. Those men had [also] penetrated the ranks of the Islamic Republican party and the Hezbollah party from the outset.

However, events affirm that the government is actually incapable of ensuring security. In a statement he made to the Paris newspaper, LE MONDE, on 8 September, Iranian deputy minister of foreign affairs, Ahmed 'Azizi said, "We are facing a real civil war which is more cruel than the war with Iraq. Our enemies inside the country are not wearing a standard uniform like the regular army. We do not know where the blow is coming from." To reassure those who were fearful Prime Minister Mahdavi-Kani declared, "If we were weak, we would not have had enemies, but we are strong." He made that statement after Khomeyni himself had said upon receiving the new members of his government, "Iran is considered one of the most stable countries."

It seems that the successive speeches that Khomeyni repeated recently have brought him back to his old style of ignoring the event and turning people's attention to events which they should bring about. While the investigation in the death of Beheshti and his aides has not [yet] yielded any results; while the Revolutionary Prosecutor Hojjat al-Islam Qodusi was killed before he undertook the investigation of Raja'i's and Bamonar's death; and while a suitcase containing a fuseless bomb was placed in Khomeyni's room to underscore the fact that the opposition can reach even Khomeyni's home, Khomeyni [himself] saw the first group of Iranian pilgrims off--this year 70,000 will go on the pilgrimage--and told them, "Make use of this holy encounter to bring the problems of the Islamic world to an end through public discourse." In this speech of his he called upon other Muslims to "take advantage of the Iranian Revolution, to eliminate injustice and oppression in their country and to establish Islamic governments" that would join the great revolution of Iran.

An unemployed Iranian said, "The government is now making excuses for the stifling economic crises that we are suffering from. It is protecting us and protecting our lives. When other Islamic revolutions join us, it will turn its attention to saving us materially."

What is the solution [to this dilemma]? The Iranian says, "We don't know. In the past they used to say, 'How many crimes are committed in your name, O freedom!' Today, we have substituted the word, freedom, with the word, revolution. The only thing the government can do is consolidate the chaos. Everybody has weapons. All the opposition parties are found in the same locations in the army, in the administrations, in the streets and among the clergy. The fact that the government is appealing to the opposition to lay down its weapons means nothing.

"At any rate, if everybody does not lay down his weapons and talk, Iran will not be saved without foreign intervention. At that time the greatest crime of all will have been committed in the name of the revolution."

Discussions within Iran about the future of the communist Tudeh party have been resumed. Whereas the Mojahedin-e Khalq declared they were responsible for the assassinations, the Kurdish-Iranian Democratic party [KDP] affirmed that the Tudeh party, whose constituents have extensive connections [in the government], is carrying out these operations "and saving us from our enemies." And while some information states that the present interest of the United States is to ensure a stable and strong government in Iran to guarantee that oil will be pumped and to protect the borders of Iran from its neighbors who are lying in wait, Moscow was satisfied with the comment published in TASS that the Soviet Union began making marginal communications with countries that are friendly to it and to Iran.

But until this moment and despite the activity of the opposition inside the country and the opposition communities abroad, Khomeyni lingers, as a European who lived in Iran a long time says. This European adds, "The opposition can get rid of persons only, but it seems that it is out of touch with the reality of Iran. When Bani-Sadr was the target of a campaign and

when the council announced that a vote would be taken to determine his suitability for the presidency, one of the leaders of the Iranian opposition abroad said, "If Bani-Sadr is assassinated, a civil war will sweep Iran." But the hour for that in Iran has not yet come. The fanatic faith in Iran still exists, as it did even before Islam in the age of Zoroaster. Khomeyni knows how to arouse people's indignation. A year ago, for example, Iranians knew nothing about Raja'i and Baha'i who were brought to prominence by Khomeyni. What liberalism or democratic socialism would govern Iran when half a million persons march in the funeral of two men who were unknown a year ago?"

My partner in the conversation adds, "Even the opposition that was on Khomeyni's side for a few days makes errors in its expectations. Is it true that Khomeyni is a man who does not know what he has to do as Abol Hasan Bani-Sadr said?"

All events indicate the opposite. Those who know Khomeyni know that he does not trust anyone completely. Although he has assigned roles and superficial responsibilities to those who are close to him and in whom he claims to have confidence, he has kept the decision making power himself. From the outset he gave his paternal love to no one but his son, Ahmad, who is the only one charged by Khomeyni with the task of communicating with those who are close and with the opposition as well. Furthermore, Khomeyni continued to play all the roles through his son, Ahmad, even in his isolation. It seems that the communications which Ahmad is conducting suggest that he is not merely a clergyman with a famous name.

8592

CSO: 4604/3

TUDEH PARTY CHARGED WITH INFILTRATION AMONG YOUTH

Tehran AHZAB in Persian 22 Sep 81 pp 1, 7

[Text] PAYAM-E MARDOM, the clandestine student publication of the Tudeh Party, contains all the characteristics of the line of creeping conspiracy. Furthermore, it serves as propaganda for communist heathenism and the Soviet bloc.

Brothers and sisters, the key to identifying the clandestine publications of the Tudeh Party is presented in this article.

The major characteristics of the line of creeping conspiracy, the line of leftist hypocrisy, the line of the Tudeh Party and the Soviet Union, which are the keys and criteria by which to recognize the Soviet and Tudeh publications and minigroups, are summarized as follows:

1. Hypocritical defense of the revolution and the imam
2. Metamorphoses or elimination of the Islamic content of the revolution
3. Direct or indirect propaganda and praise for the Soviet Union and its satellites
4. Instigating discord, creating and escalating differences, magnifying the mistakes and splits, and on the whole, weakening the unity of the Moslem nation of Iran

Another of the Clandestine publications affiliated with the infamous Tudeh Party is PAYAM-E MARDOM, which is published weekly for students.

This publication, too, like ETTEHAD-E MARDOM, ETTEHAD, and other clandestine publications affiliated with the hated Tudeh Party, follows the same line of "creeping conspiracy against the Islamic Republic of Iran and the sacred foundations of Islam."

It is the same line which caused the prosecutor of the Islamic revolution in the capitol to close down the central organ of the infamous Tudeh Party, NAMEH-YE MARDOM.

The characteristics of this line, the line of creeping conspiracy against the Islamic Republic and the sacred foundations of Islam, have already become clear to all our dear, scrutinizing readers. Merely as a reminder, we will review a few of its major highlights.

Let the "key" to the recognition of the clandestine publications affiliated with the Tudeh Party be provided for all liberated Moslem brothers and sisters so that even when they see a scrap of paper with these characteristics, they can recognize them and point them out to the people.

1. Hypocritical Defense of the Imam and the Revolution

In this line, which is the line of absolute hypocrisy, there are always pictures and speeches of the leader of the Islamic revolution for the sole purpose of deception.

The reader who turns the pages of such a publication would think that they are Moslems, too.

Not only Moslems, but followers on the path of the leader of the Islamic revolution and followers of his line, since on the surface, there is much praise of Imam Khomeyni, his leadership, and his anti-imperialist people's line.

But all of this is merely fraud and deception, merely to disguise their counterrevolutionary, anti-Islamic face and to attract the attention of the Moslem people through trickery.

Let us remember the statement of the martyred professor, the late Motahhari, God bless him, who had addressed a few Marxist youths as follows:

". . . You do not believe in Ayatollah Khomeyni. When you are by yourselves, you say: We will go along with this man up to a certain point and then we will fight him. Why do you carry his picture in your demonstrations? Why do you lie? The one you believe in is Lenin . . . Why do you carry the picture of our leader?"

Morteza Motahhari, "Piramun-e Enqelab-e Eslami" [On the Parimeters of the Islamic Revolution], p 10.

Study carefully these statements which he made in his speech on 2 Bahman 57 [22 Jan 79], before the victory of the revolution, in the college of theology. They uncover many of the deceptions of the heathen Marxists who pretend to be supporters of the revolution and even of the imam.

In any case, this first important characteristic of the line of creeping conspiracy, the line of leftist hypocrisy, the line of the heathen and heretical Tudeh Party and all their open and clandestine publications is witnessed in PAYAM-E MARDOM.

/That is, PAYAM-E MARDOM prints the imam's picture; quotes the imam's statements; and speaks in support of the revolution, the imam, and the clergy; but all this is to complete and implement the line of creeping conspiracy/ [in boldface]. These are the same Mar ists of whom the late Motahhari speaks. They lie. Not only are they not supporters of the revolution and the imam, but they are by nature anti-Islam and anti-Islamic-revolution and /all their efforts are spent to misdirect the course of the Islamic revolution away from Islam and to metamorphose and distort true Islamic concepts/ [in boldface].

2. The Elimination and Metamorphosis of the Content of the Islamic Revolution

/The second characteristic of the leftist hypocritical line, the line of creeping conspiracy, the line of the Tudeh Party and all the open and clandestine publications affiliated with it, is its very opposition to the nature of the Islamic revolution/ [in boldface]. They constantly try to empty the revolution of its Islamic content, to give godly and religious motivations a materialistic and naturalistic interpretation, and to distort and metamorphose the Islamic spirit of the revolution.

That is why in all the propaganda of the Tudeh Party and their affiliated groups and open and clandestine publications, the only things which have purposefully been omitted, of which there is not a trace, are God, spirituality, and the Islamic spirit. And if there is occasionally talk of Islam and the Prophet, it is metamorphosed and distorted. The explanations are 100 percent materialistic. They speak of certain dimensions of Islam or the personality of its revered Prophet, may God bless him and his family, which are found in ungodly places and personalities as well. There is no truth or spirit in what they write. True Islam, spirituality, and godliness are nowhere to be found.

The fact that the Tudeh Party tries to take Islam out of the revolution can be clearly seen in the analyses of this Party concerning the

Islamic revolution and movement. They have never focused on, in fact, have purposely ignored, the godly emphasis which has been observed from the beginning of the movement until the victory over the overthrown monarchical regime and has been felt even after the victory of the revolution over the various plots of the United States, the Soviet Union, China, the united counterrevolutionary front, etc. (Of course, the Soviet Union, which is their master, is without a doubt clear of any conspiracy!)

All this is proof that the Tudeh Party fundamentally opposes Islam and the Islamic revolution. On the surface, though, in talk only, it calls itself a supporter and protector of the Islamic revolution, the imam, etc.

3. Propaganda for the Soviet Union

Another characteristic of the line of "creeping conspiracy" is the direct and indirect propaganda for the Soviet Union, its allies, and the members of its bloc.

This propaganda is so extensive and well planned that there remains no doubt about the "creeping conspiracy." The pages of the official organ of the Tudeh Party and its other open and clandestine publications are full of direct and indirect propaganda for the Soviet Union and its satellites. This propaganda is often so open and shameful that it would truly pain any liberated Moslem.

After all, it is true that the criminal United States is the great Satan of this beloved Islamic revolution and, as the imam has instructed, "all the shouting we want to do" must "be directed against the United States." But this does not mean that we should forget the crimes of the superpower which is our northern neighbor and the barbaric invasion by its mercenary soldiers of the Islamic country of Afghanistan and /not only fail to condemn it, but even justify it, and then spread propaganda for the Soviet Union, trying to pull the economy, politics, and culture of our Islamic society towards that heathen and aggressive country!/ **[in boldface]**

4. Creating Discord

Another characteristic of the line of "creeping conspiracy" is creating discord and disunity among the Moslem forces. You may be surprised, but this is the truth, a proven fact. These conspirators speak much of "unity" and waste their breath much about the "united front," but they have always been and are still among the important elements of disunity and discord. A clear example of this act of creating discord, escalating disunity, and widening splits by the Tudeh Party and other Soviet elements in Iran is their division of the authorities and the entire ruling body of the Islamic Republic

into two factions, of which, according to them, one is superficial and the other revolutionary, and so on.

In this connection, we have more to say and much more proof, which we will leave for another time.

Only a few characteristics of the line of "creeping conspiracy" have been mentioned. Attention to these characteristics is a key to recognizing all the anti-Islamic, counterrevolutionary propaganda of the Tudeh Party and their rivals, the agents of the Soviet Union and the United States, in this Islamic society. With this key and yardstick, the open and clandestine publications of the Tudeh Party can be identified. Also, we can identify the minigroups which are directly or indirectly affiliated with the Tudeh Party and are, in fact, created by the Tudeh Party to make Tudeh propaganda in specific guilds and groups or act in accordance with the line of the Tudeh Party and who cooperate with, follow, and support the Tudeh Party while they try to hide their connections and affiliations with it.

PAYAM-E MARDOM, the clandestine publication of the Tudeh Party for students, contains precisely all the above-mentioned characteristics.

It hypocritically prints the pictures and statements of the imam.

Through trickery, it negates the Islamic nature of the revolution or at least tries to ignore it.

It makes propaganda for the Soviet Union and its satellites.

It follows the Tudeh Party line of creating disunity and discord.

And so on.

All of this can be found in the various issues of this publication, and found quite easily.

Additionally, it contains instructions and directives for spreading heathenism, heresy, Marxism, and so-called socialism. And it indirectly teaches evil and recommends such things as immoral and impure books. In certain cases, it tries to drag the students and youth into deviation and incites them to rebellion, etc. In short, PAYAM-E MARDOM works for the precise objectives of the Tudeh Party and the Soviet Union. This can be proven when we take a passing glance at a few issues, paying close attention to how it was established, when it

began its publication, its name changes, addresses, and its owners and finally, by recognizing the "Kanun-e Daneshamuzan-e Iran" [Center for Iranian Students], which is the so-called student group of the Tudeh Party. With the explanations which will be presented to our dear readers in future issues along with undeniable proof and evidence as well as photostats from PAYAM-E MARDOM, we hope that both the honorable executive authorities in the Ministries of Education and Islamic Guidance, the Justice Department, and the revolutionary courts and our dear, young student brothers and sisters, who are the hope for the future of our great Islamic revolution and the new-found Islamic regime, realize the filthy, heathen, Soviet, Tudeh nature of the operations of PAYAM-E MARDOM, the clandestine publication of the Tudeh Party for students, and more than ever before neutralize the creeping conspiracies of these agents of heathenism, heresy, apostacy, and dependency.

9593

CSO: 4640/29

REVOLUTIONARY PROSECUTOR WARNS ARMED DEMONSTRATORS WILL BE EXECUTED

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 20 Sep 81 pp 12, 10

[Text] Yesterday afternoon, Ayatollah Gilani, the religious judge, and Mr Asadollah Lajevardi, the prosecutor of the Islamic revolution of the capitol, participated in a press and radio-television interview and answered the questions of correspondents. First, our correspondent asked: Following the recent explosions and terrorist acts, the revolutionary Moslem people of Iran, through letters and petitions as well as demonstrations, have demanded more decisive action against the counterrevolution. What steps have been taken by the Prosecutor's Office in response to this demand of the nation thusfar and what program will be followed in the future?

Mr Lajevardi:

In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful. The duty of the Prosecutor's Office is to discover and identify the functionary elements who are engaged in conspiracies in the Islamic Republic of Iran. It expends all its efforts to identify and arrest these terrorist elements. Thanks be to God, it has thusfar been very successful. The wish of the people necessitates our positive response to this rightful demand of the people concerning the mercenary pro-American groups who intend to overthrow the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran. It will identify all these elements and hand them over to the courts of Islamic justice for their punishment. In this regard, a large number of safehouses, leaders and commanders of operations, and group leaders have been identified, captured, and handed over to the courts. The courts have carried out the verdict of Islamic justice concerning them. We hope to uncover this weapon of theirs, which is insignificant, and then hand them over to the court so that the court can carry out its Islamic verdict concerning them. Again, our correspondent asked:

Recently, it has been observed in some parts of Tehran that the hypocrites participate in armed demonstrations. This has caused insecurity throughout the society. What steps have been taken to prevent more strictly and more decisively the actions of these

prevent more strictly and more decisively the actions of these deceived individuals?

Mr Lajevardi: I must openly say to the people of Iran that the revolutionary courts and the Prosecutor's Office are determined to stop any sort of disturbance of the peace and security and to bring back real security. Anyone who would take the smallest armed action will face the most severe punishment.

We have identified and captured the pro-American hypocrites organization which has deceived a number of the children of this country and has put arms in their hands and which carries out demonstrations with firearms and other weapons in the streets. Yesterday, we sent a large number of them to the court, which issued its verdict concerning them. They were sent before the firing squad yesterday.

/I openly warn the parents to watch their children carefully/ [in boldface]. We know that these children have been deceived. When they come to the court, the day after their arrest, they repent their positions. But, such repentance is then no longer useful.

If anyone shoots at a brother revolutionary guard and intends to overthrow the Islamic Republic, there is no turning back for him. He must be executed as a lesson for others. We stand decisively against this kind of counterrevolutionary movement and we will not allow the sudden shaking of the foundation of the Islamic Republic by a number of deceived, ignorant people. It is our Islamic and revolutionary duty to protect the fruits of our revolution and not to give an opportunity to these corrupt, terrorist elements to endanger the Islamic Republic and to disturb the security of the people through their childish games. We hope, God willing, that those others whose hands have not yet been soiled by these crimes will learn a lesson from these executions and realize if they are captured in armed demonstrations, they will have no other punishment but execution.

Question: A number of these hypocrites, when they are captured, find it an opportune time to repent. When they are freed, they commit a crime such as placing bombs in the Islamic Republican Party headquarters, the prime minister's office, or the revolutionary prosecutor's office. What guidelines are there to verify the repentance of these hypocrites which will warrant their freedom? And also, what decisions have you taken to verify more thoroughly their repentances?

Ayatollah Gilani: In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful. Repentance is regarded a necessity in Islam. In the Koran, we have a sura called "Repentance." In 12 places in this sura, repentance is mentioned. The acceptance of repentance and the conditions for repentance have been discussed in terms of both ethics and religious law. Those who are captured and are arraigned by the courts, if they are belligerent, according to the text of the holy

Koran, their repentance is not acceptable after their arrest. If they repent before the Prosecutor's Office or the government arrests them, their repentance will be accepted. But the repentance of belligerent people is unacceptable after their arrest and their punishment will be that which the Koran instructs: killing by the most violent of means, hanging in the most disgraceful manner possible, and the cutting off of their right hands and their left feet. But, for those who have attacked the just government and conspired to overthrow it, the road to repentance is open to them if they have not picked up arms. (Those who carry out armed demonstrations in the streets are considered belligerent.) If they are arrested unarmed, their killing is permissible; however, if they repent and we are certain that they have turned around, their repentance will be accepted. Those who are captured and brought before the court after committing so many crimes and injustices, it would be very difficult to accept their repentance unless the religious judge has become certain.

Oh children, before it is too late and before you are captured, you can turn yourselves in to the proper courts so that your repentance and pleas are accepted, before it is determined whether or not you have really turned around. One of the signs of repentance is to expose the secrets of the organization and their arms centers. If you turn around, I think it would be much easier for you. /Islam permits the capture of those who carry out armed demonstrations in the streets, and right then and there shooting them up against the wall/ [in boldface]. From the standpoint of the principles of religious law, it is unnecessary to bring them to the courts, because they have been belligerent. I am saying this so that they know this is what the Koran and Islam instruct. But, as the Imam has said, they should be handed over to the proper courts. Islam does not allow taking the wounded body of this type of individual to the hospitals, but they must all be killed.

Question: /Recently, some of the supporters of minigroups who were captured in connection with throwing Molotov cocktails, etc./ [in boldface] have claimed that if they do not cooperate with their affiliated minigroups, they are threatened with death by those groups. If this is true, could you tell us if these individuals are able to explain their being threatened; are they protected by the Prosecutor's Office; and, also, do you have any guidelines in this regard?

Mr Lajevardi:

We even had a case where one of these gentlemen had repented. When the organization realized that he had repented, they warned him again and the third time they executed him. In our questioning, they often make this claim, saying that if they repent, they will be threatened. These brothers should know that those who repent and return to the

arms of the nation are supported by the population of Iran. If they come back to the arms of the people, the whole Iranian nation will protect them and there would be no need for the Prosecutor's Office to protect them; they will be protected by the pasdaran, the committees, other organizations, as well as the Prosecutor's Office. As the Prosecutor's Office protects and must protect the lives and property of the Iranian people and those brothers who repent, it will use the inexhaustible force of the people to protect them. I should remind those who want to repent and return to the arms of Islam that not much is left of the organization. They should not be afraid. One of the characteristics of terrorists is that when they do something, they achieve a certain amount of false prestige. For instance, you see that in one week, five or six terrorist acts take place. Those who are not in the main stream of events think that these few terrorist acts have been done by a group of several thousand people. But this is not so. An individual takes part in one operation and escapes safely. He then takes part in a second one and then in a third one. We have had cases in which one team has participated in four, five, or six terrorist acts. Presently, they are being questioned. Therefore, it is not true when you think a few terrorist acts or arsons are done by a very extensive organization. No, that is not the case. We have had cases here in which one person has taken part in nine cases of Molotov cocktail operations. One of the characteristics of the organization is that they act surreptitiously. This creates a false prestige for them. Those brothers who repent can return to the lap of the people and become part of the 36 million people of Iran who are members of God's Party [Hezbollah]. They should not be in the least frightened. The Prosecutor's Office will protect them seriously and will bring punishment to those who threaten them for their actions.

We ask of these brothers that they inform the Prosecutor's Office if they are threatened and that they provide this Office with information concerning the threatening individuals so that the Prosecutor's Office will be able to capture and punish them.

Question: In connection with the conspiracies which the minigroups are preparing for in some of the cities and whose implementors are being captured, sometimes a number of ordinary people are accused of taking part in the skirmishes and are arrested and then released after a few days. Is there any kind of plan to speed up the release of this kind of person?

Answer: In the course of demonstrations, people will be going about their daily business when suddenly a number of people will begin to demonstrate. Then, when they are pursued, they escape and take advantage of the crowd of people to hide among them. Naturally, the law enforcement forces who want to capture them must arrest all suspicious people in the area. After their arrests, they are then identified at the Prosecutor's Office. If it is made certain for us on the first

day that they were not involved in the demonstrations, they are released immediately.

We request of the people that they clear the scene immediately as soon as they see a demonstration in one corner of the city, so that these people do not have the opportunity to hide among the crowd and then officials can identify these individuals quickly.

[Passage missing] and an innocent person would be arrested along with them and consequently the work of the court will be lighter. This does not mean that the people should clear the scene; but, they should clear a circle around these elements and even if they try to escape and hide in the crowd, the crowd should eject them and point them out to the police.

Question: What is the penalty for those who hide arms in their houses if the weapons are discovered?

Answer: Depending on the circumstances, the motivation, and the intention of the accused, the case will be studied to find out why the weapon was kept. Then the penalty can be determined.

Question: There are a number of hypocrites or minigroups whose hands have not been soiled by anyone's blood and who have not taken part in the fighting. These kinds of individuals wish to repent quietly and do not wish to take part in radio and television interviews. What should these individuals do?

Answer: In order to make certain that they have really repented, we have certain standard guidelines. /I must say openly that a number of people want to take advantage of the repentance issue/ [in bold-face]. Say someone has worked against the Islamic Republic and has committed certain crimes. If this person wants to repent by merely saying "I repent" and receive amnesty from the Prosecutor's Office, this kind of repentance cannot be done. They must at least provide the Prosecutor's Office with the information at their disposal and must surely show the weapons they have hidden. We do not insist that they participate in television interviews. The criterion for repentance is that if they know of hidden weapons or safehouses, or if they know a person who has committed terrorism in connection with the organization, they should give the related information to the Prosecutor's Office; otherwise, their repentance will not be accepted.

Question: Television interviews with deceived individuals and minigroups have had significant influence on the society. Will these interviews continue?

Certainly, this will be the case. Those who have been arrested in this connection, whenever they see me, they unanimously request an interview. Presently, there is a large number who insist on volunteering for interviews. Whatever jail we go to, the first

question is: Why have you not come to interview us? Mostly, they have taken advantage of people's children, always taking advantage of their ignorance. The person who attacked the home of Mr Rabbani-Anlashi was asked after his capture what his motive was. Despite the fact that he is 28 years old, he said that he did not have the slightest motivation and did not know why he had done this. He had participated without any reason and no matter how hard he tried, he could not find a motive. You see what elements they take advantage of and how they deceive the innocent children of the people. They took advantage of 14 and 15-year old children as the tools for their crimes and defiled these pure little children.

Mr Lajevardi, concerning the accusations by the mercenary and imperialist radios concerning the operation of the courts, said:

The enemy never sits idly by. The enemy characteristically always uses the weapon of accusations. Lying is quite simple, but proving, providing documented evidence, is very difficult. Also, in connection with the necessity of an extensive purge in the organizations and institutions, he said: Certainly it is so. We are identifying and reconstructing those elements who work against the Islamic Republic in the revolutionary organizations. The identification of the hypocrites is very difficult, but as far as possible, and with the cooperation of the revolutionary people, we continue to identify them. We ask the people to identify the infiltrating individuals to the proper authorities. He added: We will no longer show any mercy to those individuals who infiltrate the revolutionary organizations and their punishment will be the same as the punishment for espionage.

Concerning the announcement to families of the names of those who have been captured immediately after their arrests, Mr Lajevardi said: The counterrevolutionaries try very hard to find out what elements we have arrested. Therefore, we do not feel obliged to announce the names of the captured people. This is for reasons of security and the future actions of the court.

. . . . The anti-people fascists never committed as many crimes as these people. What happened to the cries for human rights and why have the liberals not condemned these people, even once, but protest to us whose duty is to bring justice to the people? We who want to uproot terrorism are the target of their protests.

In regard to the question of where the hypocrites organization obtains its income, Mr Lajevardi said: It is clear to all the people that it comes from the great thefts they committed in the beginning of the revolution. When you were engaged in the struggle, they were busy amassing fortunes. They stole quite a lot from the banks; they took gold and jewelry; they plundered huge sums of money, according to documents. What they made in the country was through theft and

plunder. There is no documentation to show that they are fed from outside. Also, concerning the necessity of an intelligence organization, he said: We have not had an intelligence organization in the Islamic Republic. Our intelligence organization consists of the 36 million people of Iran. All these elements were identified for us by the people. This information was incomplete and unsophisticated. Through one person who is identified by the people, we find a group and we capture the commanders and leaders. With the investigations we make, we achieve good results and we have destroyed the hypocrites organization. We still ask the people to provide us with information and to continue to help us.

In response to the last question concerning Sa'adati's participation in the martyrdom of brother Kachu'i, which has been confirmed by the organization, about whether there is any contradiction between this action and the last will and testament of Kachu'i, who condemned the position of the organization and terrorism, Mr Lajevardi said:

Mr Sa'adati is one of the most leftist elements of the hypocrites organization. Before the martyrdom of Kachu'i, he defended his position, or, as he says, he confronted us from a higher position. When Kachu'i was martyred by Afjeh'i, it became clear that Sa'adati was in control of Afjeh'i. We then transferred Sa'adati to an isolation cell, where he found the opportunity to meditate. With the contacts made with him in the isolation cell, he changed all of his previous positions. When it is said that this is not Sa'adati's last will and testament, it is true. Yes, this is not Sa'adati's last will and testament before the martyrdom of Kachu'i [as published].

These contacts resulted in his turning back from many of his former positions.

The realities he wrote about have become clear to him in the course of one month. The contradiction is between Sa'adati's positions before and after Kachu'i's death, because before the martyrdom of Kachu'i, he had contact with the organization through Afjeh'i and was controlled by the organization. The reason for the change in his position and his condemnation of the actions of the organization is that his relationship with the organization had been severed and he was able to think independently. If this is a contradiction, we must realize that it stems from the absurdity of the borrowed ideas of the hypocrites organization.

0593

CSO: 4640/24

NATURE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN SCHOOLS OUTLINED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 20 Sep 81 p 3

[Text] Yesterday Ali Akbar Parvaresh, minister of education and training took part in a radio-television conference and answered reporters' questions concerning various matters related to education and training.

The minister of education and training was first asked whether, with the opening of schools a few days away, school books would be available at all educational levels by Mehr first [23 Sep].

Parvaresh said: As far as I have been told elementary school books would be given to the children at the start of the school year and this has been unprecedented in the past 25 years.

There are a total of 510 instructional and visual aid books. Of this 49 are new and the rest are those which have been revised. Effort has been made to replace the dark and ignorant educational system of the shah period with the Islamic system, but basically it has not been changed yet. Of the 49 new categories the distribution of 15 will be delayed. In order to avoid waste of time, effort has been made to have 32 pages of these subjects printed and distributed in educational sectors. The remaining books are to be made ready after work on the 32 pages has been completed.

Political Activities in Schools

The minister of education and training was told that even though educational officials have issued explanations concerning many aspects of political activity in schools, students want the minister to know the limitation of student rights concerning political activity in schools.

The minister of education and training replied: Normally all students must be interested in political activity because involvement in political issues is not separate from Islamic education--and the Imam has many times repeated the words of the late Modarress that 'Our policy is a replica of our religion, our religion an exact replica of our policy'. The Imam himself expounded this view in a more comprehensive term. Religion and policy are therefore inseparable and ideological and educational work in which students believe also include political work. But of course in order to progress in stabilizing the government there must be a reduction in the number of decision centers so that only responsible centers of authority can make decisions. But this does not mean we should lack interest in our own

destiny and what affects us. Therefore, the job of Islamic Councils at the school level is to supervise, just as it is among the objectives of the constitution that all the people should have this general supervision over each other. It follows that the role of students in educational and administrative matters is only a supervisory one, not one of interference, because if they were to interfere in general matters that would increase the number of decision centers and destabilize the government. They should maintain total supervision and put the matter to those responsible if they see any shortage or inadequacy.

Supporters of Factions

Ali Akbar Parvaresh had this to say when asked to comment on reports that the ministry of education and training has prevented registration of supporters of factions: Allow me to give my own overall view of Islamic policy in this regard-- a policy which is also in effect in the ministry of education and training. Basically, forces which are revolutionary and faithful to the revolution must in reality decide, supervise and administer; this, whether teacher or student on the educational level or those in responsible positions on other national levels. Other non-revolutionary forces fall into two groups. One group is made up of individuals who are ignorant and uninformed and unfamiliar with the movement of the revolution. As the general Islamic policy requires, these persons must be given guidance. That is, for these forces a guidance and instructional policy will be put into effect. As a part of the government, the ministry of education and training will institute a guidance training program for the uninitiated and the unfamiliar who because of emotional reasons have for a brief period become tools of factions and ignorant and egoist individuals. As for the group of persons who are spiteful and in reality fighting the system, not only is there no place for them in the educational system but as the Holy Koran says they must be dealt with severely. Therefore our attitude toward the uninformed and uninitiated is one of explanation and guidance, while it is very harsh and decisive toward spiteful, arrogant individuals given to creating chaos and tension.

Teacher Shortage

The minister of education and training was asked to comment on the expected shortage of school teachers now that, with the reopening of universities, many university students who had been temporarily teaching in schools would be returning to college, and whether new graduate teachers would be used to make up the shortage?

The minister of education and training replied: The shortage you mentioned is a fact particularly since a teacher must be ideologically efficient and experienced. Because of this we do have shortages. My predecessors gave high importance to teacher training and worked hard to get the right people into teacher training courses. Last Friday we held an examination for this. A number of other dependable individuals are now teaching and are paid on the basis of teaching assignment or contract. They will be put on the payroll after a probationary period. We hope that with the continuation of this system, to recruit a new generation that will carry on Islamic education.

Hezbollah Rule

The minister of education and training was reminded of a remark he had made during an earlier interview to the effect that he hoped the current school year would be

the year of Hezbollah rule in schools and he was asked what changes this would mean in teaching methods and what programs he had in mind in furthering the activities of this group?

The minister of education and training replied: First of all I would like to say as an introductory remark that the interview was published in headline form and not as a whole, because I had said this year was the year of the Koranic Hezbollah rule. When one speaks of Hezbollah the reference is to the Hezbollah to which the Koran refers. God's first word is that he who has registered in His party must be full of love and devotion toward God and His laws. And so, God forbid, some newspaper readers may have been malicious or mistaken in interpreting the remarks and brought up the issue through letters and phone calls, some of them insulting. Do not assume that when we refer to the year of Hezbollah it means the year of the rule of the 'Zh-2' and of the 'Kalashnykov'. No, it is the year of the rule of Koranic Hezbollah, the year when capabilities are to be developed, the hidden, God-given qualities of a person are to rise in achieving the wishes of the Almighty. In reality it is to be a year of order. When we say Hezbollah we mean the symbol of ideal order, calculated thinking, care, knowledge, information and study. I felt I should speak about this so that, God forbid, this misunderstanding will not be repeated in our dear nation's mind.

Now concerning those dear individuals active in educational affairs. Unfortunately in some places contacts with these dear persons have been unpleasant. They thought these have come for spy and control purposes in the schools. This is not so. Those working in training activities have the responsibility of transferring the Islamic educational process to the schools, in cooperating and working with teachers in developing the capabilities of our children. These individuals are not patches of a different fabric. At the same time teachers and students should not look at them as outsiders. All forces should be mobilized so that, God willing, this Islamic educational system replaces the one used during so many years of rule and many parts of which have been cleaned.

Security Needs in Schools

He was asked that in view of the fact that schools will soon open and the possibility of bombs being placed there by Khalq or troublemakers of other factions what steps have been considered to insure security in schools?

Parvaresh replied: Of course it has crossed everyone's mind that these factions which are going through the last moments of their political existence and which the Imam has described as cats that attack a lion might resort to such violence. Such could happen. We have discussed such possibilities with the government and orders have been issued to the minister of interior. The matter has also been discussed by the council which coordinates forces responsible for decisions concerning the work of students. The participants were the Jihad and corps groups, the ministry of education and training and the school mobilization group. They decided on necessary security measures. I would like to say here that the duty of our dear students is carefully and tactfully to prevent ugly and sinister movements before they occur. If the students themselves increase their vigilance, such damage will not take place. Of course I should point out that all the efforts of these groups were intended to cause suspicion and indecision amongst us. The

Holy Koran considers such an attitude as the work of the devil. We should take care that in exercising more care and caution in this matter we are not pulled into such a state of mind. We must therefore exercise caution and tact and let the matter be handled on a broad scale at school level by Hezbollah forces. Thus, God willing, there will be no chance of such ugly occurrences. Of course they might gather in their troublemaking hideouts and arrive at decisions and they may even think that by eliminating a few students or teachers they will destroy our system. These are vain thoughts. We believe the Almighty so far has been good to us by exposing many a treacherous plan. Of course this does not mean we should let our guard down.

Education Year in the War Zone

The minister of education and training had this to say about the condition of students and teachers in the war zone: As a result of facilities created for them, many of them have been absorbed in employment and the students are continuing their studies. But we are ashamed that we have not been able to provide work for a number of them who have lost everything because of the imposed war. I must say everything possible has been done even though the result has been inadequate. I hope that with the help of God they will soon be able to return to reconstruct their areas and to renew their endeavors.

5854

CSO: 4640/3

ABU-DIS COLLEGE OF SCIENCES DISCUSSED

Jerusalem AL-SHA'B in Arabic 24 Aug 81 p 3

[Interview with Dr Zuhayr al-Karami, scientist and educator, on the occasion of the opening of the Abu-Dis College of Sciences in Jerusalem; date and place not specified]

[Text] Having recently returned to his homeland, Dr Zuhayr al-Karami presided over the opening of the College of Sciences in Abu Dis, which is considered one of the major science projects Dr al-Karami is seeking to achieve in order to fulfill every Palestinian's dream of seeking knowledge right from its sources. It is worthwhile noting that Dr al-Karami is well known in this field; he is a pioneer scientist and a great educator who had a major role in applying many scientific and technological projects. He believes that science and knowledge are the means to mold the contemporary person to move with rapid scientific progress. Dr al-Karami introduces himself as a "traditionalist educator"; he studied at the American University of Beirut and then continued his education at the Royal College of Technology in London.

Dr al-Karami has been seen on numerous occasions on television programs and heard on the air, in addition to [being known for] his widely circulated scientific works.

The opening of the College of Sciences--Jerusalem has been regarded as a major advance to be noted in occupied Palestine's development, because it is an educational institution like the rest of the institutions and universities, yet it is the first of its kind in the region to offer modern programs and methods with regard to specializations, structure, equipment and facilities, curricula, and material and instructional amenities. This is a reality that has been achieved by thoughtful people.

I met Dr al-Karami on numerous occasions at the college where students and researchers congregate, at the Ambassador hotel in Jerusalem where he has taken up temporary residence, and at our house, as he is a colleague of my father's in science as well as is his mentor.

Conversing with him is thrilling, enjoyable and profound, stimulating knowledge and thought and carrying one into boundless and wonderful scientific and intellectual realms. I tried hard to record most of what Dr al-Karami had to say and

to present it to the reader as he so graciously relayed it. A feeling of elation and esteem engulfs me whenever I encounter such a person who gives one the feeling of security and comfort about the future of our nation and who teaches that work and its application come before speeches and commentary.

[Question] What of the importance of science and science education?

[Answer] In my opinion, science education is very important; I believe it is more important now than anything else in the Arab world. By science education I mean science, scientific research, and technology and they are not to be separated from each other. In many Arab universities, we see a clear-cut division between sciences and scientific research and technology, and the latter, in my view, is merely the application of science and scientific research. Science is the basis and scientific research is the essence of science without which science would not exist. If science and the product of scientific research, which is technology, were not applied, there would be no scientific civilization.

I have heard people praise Western civilization so often. In my opinion, this is not the same as modern civilization. Western civilization is founded on a religious, ethnic and technical base, which distinguishes the development of the West, but modern civilization is technological scientific civilization, and it is not Western, but universal civilization. Hence, Japan adopted this civilization and excelled in it; yet it is not Western, but oriental. The Arabs misunderstood the meaning of modern civilization, while the Japanese comprehended it.

Since the awakening and the days of the great Muhammad 'Ali, the Arabs have confused the meanings of liberal Western civilization, particular only to the West, and of the technical scientific civilization. For this reason, they have, since the awakening, concentrated their efforts on the study of the humanities, and there have not been efforts of sufficient number or quality to study sciences and technology. This misinterpretation of the two civilizations is responsible for the Arab nation's seeming modern while it is falling behind in science and technology, which are the backbone of modern civilization. We have poets, literary men and philosophers of world standing, but we are deficient in scientists and technologists. This fact alienates us as a society from the scientific and technological world which we live in.

This is but one aspect of the backwardness we suffer, and it is not owing to our lack of potential, it is just a result of poor guidance and planning. This does not mean we do not need literary people, but all of us must be humane and cultural scientists.

[Question] Do you think the College of Sciences can fill the gap?

[Answer] The purpose of this college is to give guidance to the student in the area of science and scientific research and in their technological application. The material is there and a plan to utilize it is there; it remains to implement it. In my opinion, this is an experiment that ought not be left unfinished.

[Question] And the period of study?

[Answer] Four years.

[Question] Prerequisites for admission?

[Answer] I do not believe a student should be denied admission to the college on the basis of his grades; therefore, the first year should be a probationary period to see his reaction to this philosophy of teaching. The final examinations will be standardized and well-considered, and only those qualified would be eligible to pass on to the second year. I am one of those who believe that mastering the English language is a fundamental prerequisite for higher education. Therefore, there will be a great deal of attention paid to the English language. The college will also have an academic cooperation program with a foreign university which would offer exchange programs in research, administer examinations and cooperate in formulating curricula; thus the present difficulties which are faced in the masters and doctoral degree programs would be smoothed out because they would be shared by the two universities. If we succeed, it is then possible that a student may earn two degrees from two universities: one from here and one from abroad.

[Question] And what financial resources does the college have?

[Answer] The college is being funded by philanthropists from here and from Kuwait, the Islamic conference, Jordan and others. A large part of the [university] buildings were constructed from staff token contributions. Therefore, we do not seek to make a profit. Our fees will be token ones and boarding fees will be below cost.

[Question] What about fields of specialization and future programs?

[Answer] He added: "During the first year, the curriculum shall include the following areas of specialization: mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology. The second year will include geology, astronomy, technology, physics and mathematics. Biochemistry, computer programming, radiology, medical technology, an operating room, nutrition, eugenics, environmental preservation and public health will all be offered in the future."

[Question] And the relationship between the college and other universities?

[Answer] Dr al-Karami reiterated his respect for the other educational institutions and added: "We are one of a group with one aim. We propose to unify higher education in the West Bank and Gaza into a single university with campuses throughout the region, and we accept the college's being within the structure of a unified university system. I hope that the council on higher education will succeed in implementing this policy at some point. 'Educational shops' are not beneficial, but a unified university system with [satellite] campuses will offer an in-depth and solid education."

[Question] And the university administration?

[Answer] Dr al-Karami pointed out that the president of the university is Shaykh Sa'd-al-Din al-'Alami, mufti [muslim religious leader] of Jerusalem and chairman of the West Bank Board of Trustees. Dr al-Karami himself will be the vice president and officer-in-charge.

It is to be noted that Dr al-Karami is readily and rapidly organizing the university affairs for its formal opening on 21 September. The college will then begin its task and we shall see with our eyes what our pen cannot show.

A salutation is in order to all those who work for this nation and this Holy Land.

9770

CSO: 4304/172

OPPOSITION TO SALE OF AWACS AIRPLANES DISCUSSED

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic No 666, 4 Sep 81 pp 20-22

[Article by Yahya 'Izz al-Din Hamzah: "AWACS: The Major Challenge"]

[Text] The rabid campaign that Zionist circles have been waging in Washington ever since the president of the United States notified Congress that the administration intended to sell the AWACS airplanes, for aerial observation and early monitoring, to the kingdom is not new. Preparations for that campaign had been made and the first steps in it had been taken when the preliminary announcement for the deal was made. This campaign is also not the first one on the list of hostile Israeli campaigns against the kingdom and its leadership, especially on the U.S. scene which Israel wants to keep to itself forever. The kingdom's battle with the Zionist lobby over the sale of F-15 airplanes still lingers in one's memory.

The evidence indicates, however, that the battle over AWACS will be more vicious, especially since the centers of Zionist influence were preparing for it for a long time. In addition to publicity campaigns in various U.S. publicity agencies, Israel has enlisted its agents in Congress to influence the representatives in the legislatures for the purpose of blocking the sale. To do so it is using various means, from cajolery and inducement to sending threatening letters to many influential figures in the Senate and House of Representatives. The first fruits of that campaign may very well be that letter which was signed by 233 congressmen in the House of Representatives and by 54 senators in the Senate warning the U.S. administration that it was necessary to withdraw the [proposal for the] sale even before it was to be submitted to Congress. However, this attempt failed, and the deal became a top priority item on the agenda of the next session of Congress which begins on 9 September.

This deal includes five AWACS airplanes. These are modified 707 Boeing airplanes that carry powerful radar devices and complex electronic equipment whose function is to conduct surveillance, observation and investigative operations of all airborne targets flying at high or low altitudes. The airplane represents one of the most modern air defense systems, especially against air raids. Precise surveillance devices on the airplane can cover vast areas of air space, and the advanced computers on board

transmit precise information about the altitude and velocity of the raiding airplanes to receiving stations on the ground. With this information the ground bases can obviate danger well before it happens. The radar devices of these airplanes can observe 400 airplanes simultaneously. The airplane's capabilities vary according to its altitude and the altitude of the targets. However, military experts concur that it is the most modern air surveillance weapon.

Among the information stations on the airplane are screens that show the course of air battles between national and enemy airplanes. An AWACS airplane can fly for 12 hours without having to refuel. Thus we observe that the airplane is suitable for command functions.

In addition to these airplanes the deal includes 20 ground radar stations to receive information and 8 KC-707 airplanes for fueling military airplanes in the air. In addition, the deal includes over 1,000 Sidewinder air to air missiles and additional fuel tanks for the F-15 airplanes which the U.S. administration agreed to sell to the kingdom.

The defensive nature of the deal which was evident to the most naive experts, did not deter Israel from raising this outcry against it and portraying it to U.S. public opinion as an imminent threat to the safety of the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine. The fact is that the only explanation for Israel's attitude lies in its aggressive nature and in its future ambitions. After the Israeli aggression on Iraq and the Zionist regime's military adventures in Lebanon, all of which went unpunished by the Arab countries, by the United States or the United Nations, Israel's leaders want the field to remain open to all the adventures they may think of in the future. The thought of an Arab country acquiring military equipment and technology that could deter Israeli military power is unbearable for Israel's leaders despite the tremendous military arsenal they have which includes nuclear weapons. One of the objectives Israel was seeking from the air raid against Iraq was to deprive the Arab countries of all modern technology and to achieve a kind of technological monopoly that would guarantee for Israel a continuing ability to realize any of the objectives that it finds appropriate in any Arab country.

Discussions in Zionist circles in the United States about the danger of the AWACS airplanes to Israel are ludicrous, implying much disregard for the intelligence of the American citizen and politician. During the previous U.S. administration Israel received all the advanced weapons it had asked for, according to a statement by former Israeli defense minister, Ezer Weizman. Under this administration Israel acquired more F-15 and F-16 airplanes despite its repeated attacks on the Arab countries. Israeli military superiority in the Middle East area is no secret, and the United States' promises to Israel [in this regard] are known and manifest. They were stated unambiguously by assistant to the U.S. secretary of state for security affairs, James L. Buckley on the eve of sending Congress official notification of the deal. Buckley said, "Let me assure you that this administration remains committed to the security of Israel. It will insist that Israel's military superiority over all its potential enemies will continue."

However, this declaration which affirms Washington's bias for the Zionist state, did not satisfy Israel's ambition. The reason for that was simple: Begin's government is dreaming of continuing its efforts to realize the dream of a great Israel with the least possible loss. The fact that an Arab country would own advanced military equipment would impede Israel's efforts to realize that dream or make its realization expensive, rendering the total Zionist plan a losing proposition which Israeli society cannot afford, and Israeli society has been known for being extremely sensitive to human and material losses, especially since Tel Aviv has grown accustomed to easy victories and adventures that are undeterred and go unpunished.

With affected bewilderment Israelis wonder about the objectives, the reasons and the magnitude of the Saudi sale. They do so in a manner designed to create a negative atmosphere in the circles of U.S. public opinion and in official circles as well. [However], no major effort is required to respond to these suspect questions; The answer was explained by the leadership of the kingdom on more than one occasion. The geographic nature of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the fact that its territory is stretched out in the Arabian Peninsula require effective protection, especially this kind of protection. Airborne surveillance devices are necessary because of the nature of the desert stretch, the length of the Saudi borders and the vastness of Saudi air space. If we were to take the small population into consideration and compare it to this vast area, we would conclude that reliance on this modern kind of advanced equipment is necessary and essential.

When His Royal Highness Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz was interviewed by the German magazine, DER SPIEGEL, he was questioned about the dangers that the kingdom could face. Prince Fahd said, "The danger can come from anywhere." At a time when matters become imbalanced and adjustments are upset overnight, such a statement becomes indisputable. The world is going through an age of political surprises in the East and in the West, and the Middle East area will be no exception. Anyone who will not be prepared to confront all the circumstances and possibilities will be taken unawares by successive events. In recent years the world has seen political coups which observers have been unable to predict. In fact, we find that some people still do not believe that Beijing has become a U.S. ally and that Cairo has become a strategic ally of Washington and Tel Aviv. Perhaps the most important lessons to be learned from these foregoing surprises and from subsequent ones as well may lie in the fact that political assumptions are always changing under the influence of various factors and that everything must be taken into consideration. Then there is the Soviet threat which is presenting itself in Afghanistan. The Soviets are trying to consolidate their military setup around the area. The Israeli threat is by no means smaller than the Soviet threat, if it is not in fact more immediate and more urgent.

Had Israel proven once that it actually wanted peace, it would have been possible to lend credence to Israeli claims. But the fact is that Israel's policy and its repeated aggressive practices affirm its expansionist ambitions and its colonialist intentions in the Middle East area. Israel's

insistence on rejecting initiatives for a just peace and its sternness and haughtiness give the countries of the area the right to work to protect themselves from the Israeli cancer. No logic can justify the right of an aggressive state to acquire all the modern weapons it needs while countries that are facing the danger of aggression are denied the right to have the capability to defend their sovereignty and their security.

If we were to take into account the special hostility that leaders of the Zionist entity harbor toward the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and its Islamic, Arab and international roles--this hostility was reflected in more than one statement made by senior Israeli leaders--the possibility of a Zionist threat becomes imminent.

The kingdom deserves to get this sale from a friendly country like the United States of America due to the honorable role it played regionally and internationally in supporting peace and stability. The kingdom's contributions in this area are numerous. The Saudi government made arduous efforts to spare the bloodshed in Lebanon and to restore peace to that war-torn country. The kingdom [also] took part in the efforts to defuse the explosion in the area which Israel is always trying to keep on the brink of tension.

On the international scene the kingdom has assumed honorable positions that adhere to a rational and a moderate view of energy problems and of problems of the world's economy. Almost all political experts have agreed that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a vital factor of stability sparing no effort or gift that is made for the welfare of the region and of the world. A country that has such an honorable record and whose leaders are so aware of their responsibilities deserves all the support and the backing [that can be mustered].

The United States will have to make a choice between abiding by the principles of equal friendship and yielding to the pressures of Zionist forces which want to have the upper hand in U.S. policy even if that were at the expense of U.S. interests themselves. There is no doubt that the deal represents an actual test of the truthfulness of U.S. intentions and the extent to which the U.S. administration understands the problem of mutual interest. Using the fear of Zionist tyranny as an excuse is unacceptable because the United States which gave Israel the most modern bombers, tanks and missiles did so because it wanted to. The United States can give friendly countries the weapons they need if it actually wants to do that. The kingdom is dealing with the United States and not with Israel, and if Washington fails to meet the defense needs of its friends, its relations with those friends become seriously questionable.

The government of the kingdom has announced repeatedly that it will purchase the weapons that are necessary to defend its sovereignty and its people anywhere else if the U.S. government refuses to meet those needs. His Royal Highness Prince Sultan ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the minister of defense said recently, "The kingdom is determined to acquire the weapons it needs from any country that is prepared to meet our needs and has the kinds of

weapons we need." U.S. officials undoubtedly realize that numerous other options are available. However, the numerous interests that tie those two countries together make us hope that the Reagan administration understands the nature of these needs that would "achieve peace and stability for the kingdom and prepare it at the same time to perform its national duty in a context that would enable our commitment to the questions of this nation to meet the responsibilities of defending it." This was explained by the statement of his highness the minister of defense.

Something must be said to those who have been swept by the wave of biased Israeli propaganda and who, therefore, dedicated themselves to the task of casting doubts about every gain the kingdom achieved or tried to achieve. Suspect spokesmen hastily cast doubts about the effectiveness of these advanced weapons and the conditions for delivering them. In their blind impetuosity those people forgot that the mere acquisition of a cannon was considered a gain for the Arab and Islamic force and a provision against its enemies.

If those who specialize in casting doubts about everything that is gained were to take it upon themselves to ask what is the reason for all this Israeli outcry if the sale were not a strong shot in the arm for Arab defense capability, they would not have made accusations that do not serve the interests of the Arab nation and its causes. In recent statements he made His Highness Prince Sultan ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz responded to these campaigns. He emphasized the kingdom's concern for its sovereignty when he declared that "Saudi Arabia will purchase weapons and will acquire those weapons without any conditions or obligations."

Nothing can be added to this unequivocal position.

It seems evident that those who foolishly repeated what Zionist publicity agencies in the West have been saying lack knowledge of the secrets of lengthy maneuvers which usually take place when such matters are dealt with. We have confidence in this country's leadership, in its concern for its interests and in its commitment to all the causes of the Arab and Islamic nation.

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TUNISIA

ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM REVIEWED

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[Article by 'Abd-al-Latif al-Furati: "AL-MAJALLAH Reveals the Full Story of the Islamic Movement in Tunisia: When Did It Start? What Is Its Strength? What Are Its Trends? What Is the Government's Posture Toward It?"]

[Text] The struggle with religious people began when the government suggested that people give up fasting because "it reduces productivity."

President Bourguiba, surrounded by senior statesmen, sat in the front row to listen to a religious lecture that was to be given by Miss Hind Shalabi. It's been an annual custom in Tunisia to have a joyous celebration on the 27th of the holy month of Ramadan, the night on which the Koran was revealed. The celebration is usually set around this religious lecture that is delivered in front of the president by a senior scholar in religion, politics, sociology or economics. However, no matter how diverse the specialties, the center of attention [on that occasion] is the relationship between religion and life--political, social, military or economic. On that night it was the lot of Miss Hind Shalabi, professor of philosophy, to deliver the lecture. It was the first time that a woman was invited to deliver a lecture on that occasion.

Miss Shalabi began delivering her lecture unhurriedly but with extreme self-confidence. President Bourguiba's impatience and displeasure with what she was saying grew with every page she turned. He did not hide his displeasure when the young woman finished delivering her lecture.

This was 6 years ago. What irritated President Bourguiba was the new tone in which the lecture was delivered. In her lecture Miss Shalabi considered the objects of the regime's pride--the liberation of women, the prohibition of polygamy and the regulation of divorce--to be antithetical to religion, and she called for a return to the origins of religion, that is, to the veil, to polygamy, to the freedom of divorce, etc.

This was quite a surprise for President Bourguiba who considers himself the liberator of women. He believes that if there were men who had reluctantly

accepted the 1956 reforms in the Personal Status Law, no woman could denounce them. The major question that was raised then was how can a lecture that was delivered in the presence of the head of state have this content when it is customary to subject such matters to strict clearance and to have everything that is to be presented to the president read and criticized before it is presented to him.

At that time Hind Shalabi was accused of being a reactionary. The newspaper, AL-'AMAL, which is published by the ruling Destourian party, devoted articles and an editorial to criticize her statements.

However, no one at that time was able to discern from Hind Shalabi's statements a specific public opinion that either supported or advocated those ideas.

No one is making a connection today between Hind Shalabi, the author of the notorious lecture which infuriated the head of state, and the growth of the Islamic tendency in Tunisia. However, one cannot help but recognize the fact that Hind Shalabi was consciously or unconsciously expressing a public opinion that did exist in the country even though it had not yet been crystallized. However, that opinion was to gain strength and to find the opportunity to broaden its domain in the political arena.

But a major question is being urgently asked these days: When did the Islamic movement organization get started, and what are its origins and its motives? How did it gain the strength to achieve what it did achieve? What is the full story of the Islamic trend?

AL-MAJALLAH reveals this in the following report.

There is no doubt that an investigator would find it difficult to determine the starting point of this tendency because it maintained absolute secrecy due to two factors.

First, there is the inherent nature of Islamic organizations. The Muslim Brothers in Egypt and in Syria lived underground for a long time. The Islamic Group Organization in Pakistan also lived underground for a long time. Secret methods were always utilized in organizing these organizations: cells were separated from each other; and communications were organized in such a way whereby only a few of the fighters would know each other. What made this situation easy is the fact that Islamic tendencies were not very intent on discussing views. Consequently, they did not need to gather supporters in one place since the whole truth could be found in religion, and truth was not a subject for debate.

Second, these organizations in Egypt, Syria, Pakistan and in other Islamic countries as well were persecuted for a long time, and this forced them to preserve some secrecy out of fear of rulers' tyranny.

When Did It Start?

It is hence difficult for one to determine a clear date for the emergence of the Islamic tendency as a political organization existing and operating

secretly in Tunisia. However, most sources think that the organization came into being in 1970. If this assumption about the date the Islamic organization came into existence--the name, Islamic Community is after the name of the Pakistani organization and not the Muslim Brothers, [an organization] in Egypt or Syria--there are reasons to believe that those who are responsible for the organization took advantage of the opportunity of introducing "democracy" into the country's political life at that time to organize their ranks. They could have perhaps risen to the surface, had it not been for the setback to democratic life which followed the conference of the Destourian party in September 1971.

After the collaborative socialist course of Ahmed Ben Saleh was eliminated in 1969, the government was somewhat shaken. It was several months before it was able to regain its balance, and this led the ruling leaders to look for a method by which they can fully understand the popular masses again. The tool they used was that of democracy and freedom of speech within and without the ruling party.

It is certain that at the time many groups of people who were angry with the regime were able to gather their disparate groups together. Among them were those who believed in a specific view of society that gave the Islamic religion special status. Those who were angry with the government's conduct toward religion were many.

First, there was a number of unofficial clergymen who had refused from the outset the social reforms of 1956. They considered these reforms to be a departure from religion, and they thought the prohibition of polygamy, the restriction of divorce and the emergence of women into public life were deviations from religion.

Second, there are those who thought that substituting astronomical calculations for sighting the new moon to establish the beginning of the months of the lunar calendar, and especially the holy month of Ramadan and the months of the feasts, violated religion and infringed upon it.

Third, there are those who were very hurt and distressed by the fact that in the mid sixties the government had advocated that fasting be abandoned because it reduced productivity.

These [opponents] and others set out in various ways from the very beginning to oppose this or the other decision. Although it was difficult to interfere in personal affairs, that is, to advocate free divorce or polygamy, due to restraining laws in those areas, a strong movement became active against the appeal to give up fasting. An opposition movement also became active against utilizing astronomical calculations in determining the lunar months. These movements took two forms:

First, there were sighting assemblies that were assembled spontaneously in public places, especially on the eve of Ramadan and on the eve of the feast. The beginning of Ramadan or the feast did not often coincide with the officially set date.

Second, people assembled in some mosques for the feast prayer on days other than those that were officially set. People assembled in accordance with the sighting of the new moon or by following what was happening in neighboring countries, especially Tripoli, Cairo and Saudi Arabia.

In some years the matter went as far as clashes with the government, and some of those who took action were suspended. Yet, among those who gained notoriety in these operations, only a few advocates are presently at the forefront of the Islamic tendency today. Some analysts attribute this to the fact that the leaders did not want to surface at that time so as to preserve the organization.

Today, many statements are affirming the fact that the Islamic Tendency has found the opportunity to organize its ranks in the form of an official society that is loyal to the government. This is the Koran Preservation Society whose purpose is to teach the Koran and to spread good conduct among the members of the population.

It seems that the leaders of the Islamic Tendency got to know each other inside the ranks of this society and organized themselves within the society before unifying the structure that holds them.

Whether these statements are true or not, there is no doubt that today many leaders of the Islamic Tendency can be found in the organization for preserving the Koran.

Some people go even further than this. Leftists, [for example], accuse the government of at least being behind the effort to look the other way during the early days of the Islamic organization phenomenon. The purpose of [this benign neglect] was to create a force that would be capable of confronting leftist tendencies, especially in the university and among students.

One of the old trade union leaders among students told us that early in the seventies, and especially after 1974, the government was actively encouraging those who sympathized with the Muslim Brothers. It used them to spearhead the action against leftist students--Marxists and pan-Arab nationalists. Muslim Brothers sympathizers routed strikes and used force to intervene against meetings that were organized by these and other groups. All this was done with the knowledge and consent of the government which did not lift a finger to stop it. The man who holds today an important position in one of the opposition movements adds, "[Members of Muslim organizations] were used against us, and some of them are known to us. They were students at that time, and they used to carry canes and chains against us. Today they hold various positions within the Islamic Tendency Movement."

Is this true? No one knows, but there is nothing curious about the government using one group against another to fight back against university disturbances which rose to a dangerous level in recent years.

Tunisia and Europe

Today, some members of the opposition go so far as to say that the government, represented by the administration of the ruling Destourian

party, encouraged the Islamic Tendency so it could use it to curb the influence of other opposition groups, especially leftists and Marxists.

What is important is that this matter, even if it were true, has assumed proportions that no one expected. The influence of the Islamic Tendency developed considerably and [eventually] took hold of broad sectors of the population. It was able to recruit many powers in a manner that caused the government to lose control of the situation. This had never happened before with any other opposition group.

In 1975 when Hind Shalabi delivered her lecture, what she said appeared to be a crack in a faith that many people believed was unshakable. The prevailing belief was that the Hind Shalabi episode was incidental and that these ideas could not have the support of popular and intellectual circles which had been taught for almost 20 years to separate religion from politics and to deal with events from a "non-Oriental perspective." However, events of subsequent years affirmed the opposite of that belief and showed that religious feelings were still strong and that they had been waiting for someone to stir them up so as to surface and emerge.

In an analysis mentioned to us by an official in the administration of the ruling Destourian party [the following was mentioned]: "Our mistake here lies in the fact that we compared ourselves with Europe. For a long time we had thought that we could follow the course that western Europe followed in separating religion and politics. This is because our clergymen did not exploit the popular classes as was the case with the church before the European revolutions. Moreover, the Islamic religion is characterized by its interest in spiritual and worldly matters. In the Islamic countries it is essential to deal with the Islamic religion as a principal component of the political equation."

But what is truly bewildering is how the Islamic Trend was able to attract a broad base of support in a relatively short period of time. Ten years ago there was nothing, and now the trend has thousands and thousands of supporters and followers who joined its ranks even though its organizational structures are not official and dealing with them is dangerous.

It seems that behind this intense effort to attract support is a number of given factors that may be summarized in the following points:

--First, the ideological vacuum in the Destourian party is a vacuum that must be filled. While Marxist movements attracted some young people, most of the active members of the opposition found what they were looking for in the Islamic Trend.

--Second, the significance of the crises that the country is experiencing. Proponents of the Islamic Trend predominantly believe that solving the country's unemployment problems and confronting the new reality can only be done from an Islamic perspective which finds in the Koran, in the Prophetic tradition and in legally binding precedents spiritual answers to the questions that are being raised.

--Third, despite the superficial cover of the attempt to establish a social order whose components were derived from the West, the roots of society remained embedded in their oriental character. This [oriental] spirit was looking for an opportunity to be set free, and it found it in the Islamic Trend.

However, what really explains this rallying around the Islamic Trend is the smart action of those who have been in charge of it. From the outset this action moved in three directions.

--First, they moved in mosques where supporters were won among worshipers and among those who frequented the mosques. This was done by means of lessons which appeared to be religious but did in fact have a political dimension to them.

--Second, they moved in cultural houses which are scattered throughout the country. Here young people of various classes--workers, civil servants, students, intellectuals and semi-intellectuals--can be swayed.

--Third, the school and the university were the third source for gaining supporters and followers. The Islamic Tendency made a significant effort to recruit followers in the educational establishment. Today, it appears to have won the bet. Last winter when the Islamic Trend wanted to create a crisis in the schools, it was able to do so, and its action paralyzed education for a long period of time. In addition, the Islamic Tendency controls a number of higher institutes and colleges such as the Tunis College of Science, the College of Engineers in Tunis and others.

Three Trends

It may thus be said that today the Islamic Trend is considered one of the strongest [in the country]. This has caused some of its supporters to say, "The only reason why the government today is removing the leaders of the movement from office and harassing its members is to prevent the movement from taking part in the political game and entering the next elections where it can win a large number of votes that would increase its power and set it on course to attain power not too long from now."

However, one cannot discuss the Islamic Trend in Tunisia without also discussing its differences, its divisions and its programs.

It may be said that there are three principal trends within the mainstream of the Islamic Trend.

First, there is the Islamic Tendency Movement [MTI] which is the strongest and the staunchest. Early in June MTI filed an application to obtain a permit to operate as a public party. This organization includes the most sophisticated and the most experienced Islamic leaders as well as those who are most capable of taking action. It is led by Mr Rached Ghannouchi, a secondary school teacher. He is assisted by Mr Abdelfattah Moro who is an

attorney. As far as the number of followers is concerned, this is the strongest of the Islamic organizations. It also has the power to attract more followers both in the capital, Tunis, and in the towns and villages of the country. It is enough for this organization to announce that one of its leaders will give a religious talk, and the mosque or club where the talk is to be given becomes crowded with people. This trend does not have a clear political program, although the prevailing opinion [indicates] that it is a conservative movement. In a document distributed on the occasion of the establishment of their party last June, leaders of that organization said, "The Islamic Tendency Movement does not present itself as the official spokesman for Islam in Tunisia and does not aspire to gain this title one day [in the future]. Although it acknowledges the right of all Tunisians to deal truthfully and responsibly with religion, it thinks it has the right to adopt a view of Islam that is comprehensive enough to constitute the ideological foundation from which various intellectual views and political, economic and social choices would spring. These would define the identity of this movement and control its strategic orientations as well as its circumstantial positions. In this sense the boundaries of the Islamic Tendency Movement would be clearly drawn, its responsibilities would be defined and it would not be obligated to undertake all kinds of actions and assume all kinds of positions that may emerge here and there. Notwithstanding the masks of piety and the banners of Islam carried by those who take these actions and positions, MTI will abide only by those it adopts officially."

The Tendency set down a number of actions for its work:

--It would restore vitality to the mosque as a center of worship and as a center for recruiting the masses. The government rejects this notion on the basis of the fact that the mosque is not to play a political role.

--It would stimulate intellectual and cultural life.

--It would support Arabization efforts along with a liberal attitude toward foreign languages.

--It would reject violence as a tool for change.

--It would reject the principle of autocracy, and it would approve [people's] right to speak freely and to assemble.

--It would create contemporary formulations for the social concepts of Islam.

--It would take the side of the oppressed.

--It would support trade union action.

--It would utilize a comprehensive view of Islam.

--It would liberate the Islamic conscience from its cultural defeatism vis a vis the West.

Second, there is the Advisory Islamic Party which split from the Islamic Tendency in 1980. It is led by Attorney Hassen Ghodbani who faults the Islamic Tendency organization for its opposition to consultation and for falling prey to the personal ambitions [of its leaders] and to a situation where a few are controlling the capabilities of the movement. In general, the intellectual foundations of this movement do not differ from those of the Islamic Tendency, although there is an attempt [in the former] to pay attention to the Arab dimension of the Tunisian citizen and also to impart a clearer socio-economic content to the actions of this faction.

But the leaders of the Islamic Tendency Movement accuse Hassen Ghodbani of being a man of unlimited ambition. They say he was forced to leave the movement and establish a new organization he could lead when his attempt to assume the leadership of the movement failed. Hassen Ghodbani's organization had also filed an application to obtain a party permit.

Third, there is the Progressive Islamic Tendency. This organization, which did not attempt to set itself up as a party, is led by a group of intellectuals who are bi-cultural. They wish to establish an Islamic movement that has a liberal attitude toward western cultures and is revolutionary and progressive. Therefore, one always finds them looking for ways to tie Islam with an individual's daily efforts to make a living and with the problems with which he struggles.

There are other organizations, however, which are thought to be more religious than political, such as the al-Tabligh [Spreading the Word] Organization and the al-Da'wah [Missionary] Organization. Nothing is known about these two organizations.

Except for direct missionary activity in mosques and cultural clubs and the recruitment of students and pupils even in elementary schools, the Islamic Movement did have two newspapers until 1979. One of them was the weekly, AL-MUJTAMA', and the other was the monthly, AL-MA'RIFAH. These two publications, however, were suspended, and those responsible for them were placed on trial for disseminating false news, for attempting to overthrow the regime and for advocating spreading chaos and unrest in the country. Ever since then the Islamic Movement lost a major [source of] support manifested in its newspapers which were never published after that date despite the numerous appeals that were made to the government and the petitions that were signed by thousands of followers.

In view of this situation the Islamic Movement was content with expressing its views in opposition and independent newspapers when these or the others agreed to publish its position statements which were always marked by extreme verbal ardor.

However, the movement was also able to spread its ideas through numerous books it published or imported and through tape recordings as well. Many libraries in the capital, Tunis, and in other cities distributed these books on a large scale.

Although relations between the Islamic Tendency and the government are at their worst today, they have not always been that poor. For a long period of time and until the late seventies it appeared as though the two agencies--the agency of government and that of the Islamic trend--were ignoring each other. While the numbers of bearded men and women in Islamic clothing increased in the streets increased, the government paid no attention to this trend. At the same time, leftist opposition movements, especially the Marxist, were affirming that there was an agreement between the government and the Islamic movement against the leftist party.

Is this true? Did the government actually use the Islamic movement to do away with the left in student circles? This is something that no one can confirm or deny. But it is evident that severe battles used to take place on the university campus between those who were referred to as Muslim Brothers sympathizers and those with leftist inclinations. [It is also evident] that the police agency did not interfere.

Mzali's Sympathy

It may be that 1978, and especially 1979, was the year that saw the beginning of the government's campaign against this Islamic movement. In December 1979 at a constitutional meeting about the followers of this Islamic movement Mohamed Sayah, who was then director of the agency of the ruling Destourian party said, "We will resist those who set out deliberately to spread chaos and unrest under the guise of religion." At that time the 1980 state budgets were being discussed in parliament and a number of representatives, all of whom are members of the ruling Destourian party of course, raised the question of the "developing phenomenon of Muslim Brothers sympathizers." They called for the need to put an end to the chaos that these people were spreading. In fact, two members who are close to Mohamed Sayah tried in the course of discussing the budget of the Ministry of Education, which was then headed by Mr Mohamed Mzali, the current prime minister, to raise doubts about Mr Mzali's sympathy with these movements considering that he had been calling for Arabization and a return to Islamic, Arab origins. At that time Minister Mohamed Mzali's response to his critics was harsh. Those who were close to him [revealed] that he was displeased because Mr Hedi Nour, who was the prime minister of Tunisia then, did not ward off this attack as required by the principles of government solidarity.

During the 15 months period that followed the formation of Mzali's government and the realization of a true liberalization toward all trends and movements, the Islamic movement, which split into three principal factions, gained considerable freedom of expression but was not allowed to regain its newspapers or publish new ones. Its public positions [since then] have been numerous, and it issued scores of statements while its leaders formed parties and asked the government to license them.

Ever since last June a wide ranging campaign against the Islamic movements began to be mounted, and some supporters have been suspended. In a statement to the press Mohamed Mzali mounted a harsh campaign against the

Islamic movements, holding them responsible for the violent events that the country has been experiencing.

A few weeks later, upon issuing another statement, the Tunisian prime minister appealed to all the political families in the country and to all advocates of democracy to overlook their differences and to form a front to counter tyranny and intolerance.

The Detainees and the Charges

Almost simultaneously and with the government's initiative a campaign was mounted in the country to promote the government's Islamic aspect. Statistics about the number of mosques that were built since independence was printed (2,000 mosques), and the prayer leaders at mosques were invited to a fast-breaking banquet hosted by the prime minister. In the mean time a broad detention campaign began, and it included a large number of the Islamic movement's leaders in the capital and inside the country.

News that had been leaked mentioned the fact that the charges which had been made against those who were arrested in the principal suit that was filed in Tunis's Court of General Sessions consisted of dishonoring the president, forming a secret society and spreading chaos in the country. There was at least one among those who were arrested who stated that the Islamic movement was seeking to change the system of government by force.

It seems that the government has leaned on all the agencies of justice to complete this case quickly and to issue their verdicts by early September at the latest, that is, before schools go back in session. This is out of fear that new disturbances may develop after those that broke out last February. The Islamic movement was accused of organizing and planning these disturbances. It was also accused of organizing the operation to detain the dean of the College of Sciences last April and of planning the street disturbances in the town of Manzil Bourguiba and in the town of Masakin.

On Friday 4 September the leaders and members of the Islamic movement were sentenced by the Tunis Court of General Sessions. The court sentenced those leaders and members to prison terms that varied between 1 and 11 years. Rached Ghanouchi, the leader of the Islamic Tendency was sentenced to 11 years; and Abdelfattah Moro, the secretary general of the movement was sentenced to 10 years. Altogether 107 persons were placed on trial: of these 30 persons have dropped from sight and 16 persons were temporarily released.

Responding to a question about the reasons why the government decided to arrest the leaders of the various Islamic movements at a time when they were not cooperating with each other and when it was inconceivable that the disturbances had been the result of an agreement between those leaders, a government official told AL-MAJALLAH, "The matter has to do with a few accusations that preceded the period during which the group separated. Among these accusations was that of forming a secret organization, structured and prepared to carry out its actions in secret before the split in the group occurred."

Relations with the Outside World

There remains a question that must come to one's mind; it is about whether these movements and tendencies had foreign affiliations.

So far nothing concrete has been established in this regard. It seems that the Islamic Tendency movements benefited from what was written about Islamic organizations in a few countries such as Egypt, Syria and especially Pakistan.

At one time the group wanted to call its movement the Islamic Community after a society of the same name in Pakistan. But it seems that there is neither a direct nor an indirect relationship between the leaders of the movement in Tunisia and the leaders of the community in Pakistan.

Leaders of the Islamic movement deny that they are members of the Muslim Brothers even though they consider Hasan al-Hudaybi, Sayyid Qutb and others to be extraordinary men whose example ought to be followed.

However, no one can state positively that there is more than a limited relationship with Iran's revolution. This, however, does not seem to be the government's opinion which finds the Islamic Movement to be an extension of an organization or of organizations existing abroad. The government thinks that leaders in Tunisia may be receiving instructions from Tehran at present and that they may have close relationships with similar organizations in other countries.

In this regard the newspaper, AL-'AMAL, which speaks for the ruling Destourian party wrote, "Finally we have the full incontrovertible evidence that suspicious terrorist relations were formed in the name of religion and in the name of Islam between extremist groups and a few bloody regimes. Finally, there is no longer room for doubt. A witness from that group has finally testified. After [a period of] silence and covering up the official Iranian newspaper that speaks for Khomeyni and for the Islamic Republic party stated in a lengthy article that 'The Iranian Revolution will be the one to whom thanks will be due for strengthening the Islamic movements. The Tunisian Islamic movement takes its orders from the Iranian Islamic Revolution; it obeys its instructions and it follows in its footsteps.' "

Is this evidence that there is an organic relationship between the two, and is this adequate evidence?

This then is the government's position. What is the position of the various opposition groups on the suspension campaign to which the leaders of the Islamic movement have been subjected? What is the opposition groups' position on the appeal that was made by the head of the government to form a front to oppose the leaders of the Islamic movement?

The various opposition groups sharply criticized what the Islamic Tendency was subjected to, and none of them complied with the prime minister's appeal.

But it is also clear that all the opposition groups think that the Islamic Tendency is dangerous from two points. Therefore, they may secretly support an operation to overthrow it.

1. The strength of the Islamic Movement can grow only at the expense of the various opposition groups since the ruling party is firmly established in the country.

2. Opposition groups have serious doubts about the fact that the Islamic Movement truly accepts the conditions of the democratic game, that is, to circulate power and to have freedom of speech and assembly. The prevailing opinion is that if the Islamic Movement were to come to power, it would silence all its opponents as is the case today in Iran.

The final question[s] that one can ask [are these]: Will the detention and the trial of the leaders of the Islamic Movement solve the problems? Is the country that got rid of all its political prisoners approaching a new period of striking at the right this time when in the past the strikes had been directed at the left?

The restoration of legitimacy to the Tunisian communist party may support this analysis. But the question remains one of balance, and the problem remains tied to what the Islamic Tendency can do. Did the Islamic Tendency which has experience in secret organizations establish alternative leaderships to replace the leaders who have been thrown out of office? In such a case there can be no doubt but that Tunisia is headed for a period of struggle that may last a long time.

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